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GENDER AND LEADERSHIP: MEN AND WOMENS' STORIES

A Dissertation
submitted by
by

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Gender and Leadership: Men and Womens' Stories

Barbara A. Karanian

This dissertation looks at gender and leadership using conceptual frameworks from the psychology of women, work place role, and concepts of leadership.

Findings about projective imagination suggest that women and men perceive and construct the relationship between self and others in different ways. Organizational research indicates that the thinking about leadership has shifted from the unreachable "heroic model" to the more adaptive leader. This dissertation demonstrates that there are two modes of thinking--connection and separate--the can be identified and reliably coded in individual's stories of an authority figure. To support this claim, it explores the link between gender, authority figure and leadership through the connected versus separate lens. Results suggest that women and men are telling stories about a different kind of boss, a new model of authority, and an evolving theory of leadership that is not gender specific.

Fifty-two subjects, employed at four Massachusetts companies, responded to two instruments: a picture stimulus, and a leadership inventory (The Lipman-Blumen Leavitt Achieving Styles Inventory). Both instruments were utilized to form a story about the boss. Respondents generated stories to a picture with either a male or a female as an authority stimulus. Stories were coded for three imagery areas: connection, separate, and hostility. Data was analyzed according to a modified version of the coding scheme first developed by Lyons (1983).

There were four major findings. First, gender was an influence in how leadership is defined. Second, connected leading was central in the evolving leadership picture of the boss. Third, separate leading was a male image, mainly applied to the male boss. Finally, more hostile boss stories were written by men than by women.

The current research suggests that gender influences the construction of authority through connected and separate images. Leadership seen in this perspective, is a struggle to include connection, along with separate, as an integral and neglected aspect of the ways subordinates understand authority.

INTRODUCTION

This research began with some hunches about the effects that women in authority have on leadership in the workplace. Both experience and study suggested that women, as leaders and as followers, changed the entire picture of boss-employee relationships. Considering gender as part of the concept of what a boss is, seemed to be contained in the broader landscape of people's conceptions of themselves, their roles at work, and their image of leadership. In this perspective two distinct themes become important: 1) the concept of leadership, and 2) the psychology of women.

Much of previous research on gender and leadership appeared stereotypically drawn and too based on an assumed all-male world to reflect the reality of the work environment. Since the 1950's theorists have not relied on a trait approach to examine leadership and no single cluster of personality characteristics is capable of defining leadership. Discussion of women's impact on the workplace and their role in defining leadership, however, has been limited to a gender-role conception of masculine or feminine characteristics.

In my attempts to understand leadership roles at work, I was sure that a central explanatory principle was the distinction between connected and separate ways of knowing (Gilligan, 1982; Lyons, 1982; Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, and Tarule, 1986). Connected and separate ways of self definition correspond to different ways individuals define the universe and their "self-in-relation" to it. Connection relies on closeness, care, and including others in maintaining relationships, while separation is based on distance, withdrawal, and the importance of the right answers. Women appear to be more tilted

toward connection and men more tilted toward separation. Just as recognizing these ways of knowing has revolutionized thinking about moral development, I believe it could make an equally important contribution to our thinking about leadership.

Some studies look at gender theory, especially connected and separate ways of knowing but this perspective has not yet made any impact on the field of leadership studies. This study looks at gender and leadership through a lens that makes use of the difference between connected and separate.

It is difficult to find other examples of research where the connected/separate lens is used to understand leadership. This study is also innovative in methodology, using a projective picture test, to elicit respondents' stories. The stories written about the "boss" shown in the picture, offer some valuable insights into how an employee constructs mentally what it means to be boss, authority, or leader. This is an approach that is not commonly used either in leadership or connection research.

The conceptual focus and methodological approach together are what distinguish this research from most works on leadership. The analysis points out how gender plays an important role in redefining leadership because of an individual's conception of gender, of workplace role, and images about leadership. Women and men are telling stories about a different kind of boss, a new model of authority, and an evolving theory of leadership that is not gender specific. One cannot understand leadership in a mixed-sex workplace without taking account of the sex of the boss and that of the subordinate. Those differences at both the authority end of the relationship and the subordinate (end of the

relationship) interact in many ways to shape the outcome, including the way they shape the views and feelings of employees as they construct leadership.

CHAPTER 1:

LITERATURE REVIEW

A. Theoretical Perspectives on Leadership

Examination of leadership research through the years takes us to the foundation of some of the interesting questions concerning leadership. It also helps to distinguish among the many ways leadership is defined.

While it appears that every possible angle has been considered in the discussion of leadership, definition is still a major issue. Our expectations, needs, and understanding of leadership have grown more sophisticated and complex. As a result, the problems of defining leadership are many. The first part of this chapter concerns the evolving theory of leadership.

DEFINING LEADERSHIP

Intrigued by those who create conditions that motivate others in organizations, researchers have examined interesting questions about leadership. Gardner (1986, p.5) explains that while it is convenient to use men and women known to everyone, such leaders are usually at a fairly lofty level. But there is an aura that tends to surround the words "leader" and "leadership" that makes it hard to think clearly (Gardner, 1986, p.1). When Bennis (1959, p. 259) surveyed the leadership literature he concluded that the concept of leadership eludes us or turns up in another form to taunt us with its slipperiness and complexity. Although we have invented an endless stream of terms, the concept is not

sufficiently defined. Some representative definitions of almost fifty years of research attempt to demystify the meaning of leadership.

Leadership is referred to as the initiation and maintenance of structure in expectation and interaction (Stogdill, 1974, p. 411). It is the influential increment over and above mechanical compliance with the routine directives of the organization (Katz and Kahn, 1978, p. 528). Leadership is the process of influencing the activities of an organized group toward goal achievement (Rauch and Behling, 1984, p. 46). And, leading from a position of authority means identifying the adaptive challenge (Kotter, 1991, p. 4, Heifetz, 1994, p. 128).

History has changed greatly since early theorizing about leadership. The great-man theory, for example, is little more than a discussion of the effects men had on a particular point in history (Bass, 1981). Women were absent from this picture of leadership. Dispelling the great man theory of leadership, Burns suggests that the average person, not just prime ministers and presidents, exert quiet leadership every day (1978, p. 442).

Later, this image was replaced with the idea that leadership means influencing others to follow the leader's vision. The search for understanding how a leader was remembered as influential led to countless trait-approach studies (Goode, 1951; Stogdill, 1948).

Beginning in the '50s and surfacing briefly again in the '80s (Conger, 1988), researchers argued that personality traits were the key to understanding and identifying leadership. Factor analysis was used for the purpose of investigating a long list of personality traits. These included personal background, age, height, and even looks. Personality traits clustered around culturally determined conceptions of leadership like dominance,

persuasiveness, assertiveness, and charisma (Bass, 1981, p. 46). Despite numerous studies, researchers found the trait approach to leadership unscientific and discounted ideas that an individual's rise to power is based on some amazing combination of personal expertise, behavioral qualities, or physical characteristics. The work on leadership since then can be grouped into four general theoretical models for leadership: *situational* leadership, *contingency* theory, *transactional* leadership, and *transformational* leadership.

The Ohio leadership studies (Hemphill, 1950; Stogdill and Coons, 1957; Fleishman, 1973; Bass, 1981) in Schein (1985, p. 170) paved the way for what is referred to today as situational leadership. In the situational view the demands for leadership vary and are dependent on the context in which the leader functions (Hersey and Blanchard, 1977; 1984).

Fiedler (1967) created the *contingency* model when he distinguished leaders who see great differences in task effectiveness among their subordinates from leaders who see their subordinates as similar. This model combines the great man approach with *situational* theories. Theories that explain leadership effectiveness in terms of aspects of the situation that enhance (or not) the effects of a leader's traits, are contingency theories. *Contingency* theory is most complete when it describes how the situation moderates the relationship between leader traits and effectiveness (Fiedler and Chemers, 1974).

Leadership theory expanded into a transactional model when the relationships between leaders and followers became the focus, shifting the focus to the issue of how influence is gained and maintained (Heifetz and Sinder, 1988) in interaction. Leaders not only

influence followers, they are under their influence as well. A leader may specifically earn influence by adjusting to the expectations of others (Heifetz, 1994, p. 17).

One of the central purposes of the present study, in line with the transactional approach, is to tap into the private realities of subordinates to examine how their understandings of an authority is shaped by gender and influences the definition of leadership.

A *transactional* leadership model can be applied in many forms. In one variant of the transactional approach, the effort of the authority is directed towards how to involve followers and facilitate participation in leadership decision-making (Tannenbaum and Schmidt, 1958; Vroom and Yetton, 1973). The present study aims to explore the role of "connection" in subordinates' thinking about the leader's approach, which is directly influenced by the authority's tendencies to establish a climate of interpersonal concern, close relationships, and genuine promotion and encouragement of a follower's work. Connected leading, or its absence, contributes in a major way to the definition of a boss/employee relationship.

Leadership theory that takes the focus of the relationships between leaders and followers is referred to as transactional. Leadership here is viewed as a matter of how influence is gained or maintained in interaction (Heifetz and Sinder, 1988). When researchers theorized that leadership was more than influence or dependent on single variable indicators, new questions surfaced. How is leadership more than a designated authority's vision (Bennis, 1985)? What happens in the interaction between the subordinates and the authority when the followers depend on the leader to have all the

answers (Heifetz, 1994)? What is the leader's impact on emerging leadership (Bennis, 1991)?

Transformational leadership was an attempt to address these questions (Burns, 1978). The rise of the transformational model was not only or mainly due to theoretical pressures. Changes in the corporate world, driven by new intensities of global competition (Kotter, 1985), were showing up the weakness of the "heroic model" of leadership (Maccoby, 1981) underlying all previous leadership approaches. The leader, according to the new view, could therefore be a teacher who enlightened by encouraging group members to take a leadership role (Heifetz, 1994, p. 251). The present study will focus on the ways a subordinate imagines that the authority acts as a leader through connection and whether these ways are different for men and women.

Leadership theory has moved from descriptive models of effective leadership to theories that invite individuals to examine definitions of leadership every day. Current theories are mainly prescriptive, and no longer have a hero model focus (Bolman and Deal, 1991; Kanter, 1990; Oshry, 1982). Whether theory relies on descriptions of effective leading or prescriptions for organizational progress, definitions require deeper investigation.

B. Gender Influence: The Leadership Leap

Of significance for this study is the issue of gender influence on leadership. Many factors interrelate in the discussion about how an individual makes sense out of the complexities of interpersonal relationships between bosses and employees. Consciously or unconsciously employees believe gender is an especially salient factor. This belief shapes the way people view their relationships at work.

Experts may claim that should not make a difference, but more emphasis than ever appears placed on what "femaleness" and "maleness" means at work. In the midst of change and often competitive relations between men and women, researchers agree about some intrinsic differences. Men are seen as tilted toward becoming differentiated and separate, whereas women spend more time tilted toward integration and connection. Women are expected to have more difficulty emerging from embeddedness in the interpersonal, and men more difficulty emerging from embeddedness in the institutional (Kegan, 1986, p. 210). Extreme sex-role stereotypes continue to label men as the active ones who get things done, and women as the passive ones who are invisible or incompetent (Belenky and others, 1986). Women are expected to blindly obey authority and men encouraged to challenge or be that authority. These polarized gender lines are limiting and offer an incomplete picture of the gender influences on leadership.

Investigations of organizational behavior and leadership have usually relied on male models. For the most part, women have been excluded from the discussions of leadership. While several studies have investigated the role of women in organizations, this discussion is fairly new and limited. In most cases, descriptions and analyses focus on the successful women manager or ways to succeed as a women in management. There is little serious

analysis of how women, as leaders, are responded to, while there is even less challenge to the norms for the existing power structures in organizations.

The purpose of this part of the literature review is to examine how or the ways that women and men interpret the behavior of their leaders, and in turn consider the resulting impact on responses to the boss at work. Feminist phase theory provides a useful mechanism for the consideration of gender issues and leadership. The five stages of feminist theory are first discussed then differences in expectation that shape the conception of leadership are explored.

Discussion about gender issues and leadership has passed through many seasons in 25 years. We began by wondering about a woman's place. Wonder turned to worry that women were ignored. The controversy grew with concerns about justice and equity in the workplace. Then the discussion turned to "glass ceilings." The controversy widened to include gender-specific styles. Today the discussion centers on the not so surprising possibility that women offer a new definition for leadership at work. Understanding ways to think about men and women in an interactional mode is an important foundation for a new paradigm about leadership.

Feminist phase theory provides a useful mechanism for considering how issues of gender and leadership have been considered. The five stages of feminist phase theory (Twombly, 1991) are:

1. Womanless stage
2. Woman Worthies stage
3. Bifocal Scholarship stage
4. Feminist Scholarship stage
5. Multifocal Scholarship

STAGE 1. WOMANLESS

Theorists agree that in the womanless stage that the male experience is reported as exemplary (Twombly, 1991, p. 12). There is no recognition by researchers in this stage that the existence of women calls for more comprehensive theory building.

In a descriptive study exploring the role of women engineers in management (Karanian, 1982), results showed that while almost 24% of the engineers graduating were women, less than 2% became managers. In the areas of mechanical, manufacturing, and civil engineering, the number of women graduates was slightly smaller and the corresponding proportion of women in management was less than 1%. Researchers speculated that women were ignored in the development, reaction, and promotion to positions of leadership.

A decade later, a *U.S. News and World Report* study (June, 1991) reported that the numbers of women in leadership roles had increased only slightly from 2% to 4%. Compounding that Faludi reported in 1992 only 2 women sitting on the boards of all Fortune 500 companies.

Even when Burns (1978) dispels the notion of the "great man theory" of leadership, he doesn't orient his discussion specifically to women. He suggests that the average person exerts quiet leadership every day (1978, p. 442). In many traditional work places the average person was, and often remains male.

Historically women were not supposed to be seen, or heard at work. The notion that women are not visible and ignored is the essence of stage 1 (Schuster and VanDyne,

1984). That women would be considered in any discussion of leadership in stage 1 is out of the question.

STAGE 2: WOMEN WORTHIES

This stage seeks to compensate for the absence of women and women's experience (Tetreault, 1985). Here scholars identify women who were missed when the history books were first written. Twombly cites feminist historians (Lefkowitz-Horowitz, 1984; Rossiter, 1982; Solomon, 1985) who have enlarged the view of higher education by including women such as M. Carrie Thomas, who met male standards of excellence established by great university men of the late 19th century (1991, p. 12). This stage stops just counting women to assert that woman made important contributions.

While literature at this stage focuses on women making contributions, finding multiple examples of women in positions of leadership is another story. Perhaps unknowingly, writers mainly detail examples of women making mistakes. Similar to the art world where historians taught us that women existed as models not as artists, in the work world we learned that women were subordinates molded by superior men. When women didn't quite fit the mold they were thought of as outcasts or troublemakers.

Women leaders are often compared to the men who preceded them. An attribute of stage two is that women are judged by a male model of excellence but are presented women as pioneer role models. One illustration of this stage are outstanding women administrators whose careers conformed closely to the men preceding them (Twombly, 1991). Other examples include women who kept their success and promotion a secret for

fear that other women steal their secrets and garner the few token slots available. In an academic example, Professor Margarita Levin, wife of anti-feminist scholar Michael Levin, admitted that if there were more women in the math department her achievement would have seemed less spectacular. If women reached parity on the faculty, she might no longer be one of the "very few worthies" (Faludi, 1991, p. 299).

Similarly, the term "Queen Bee" syndrome was coined to brand the women who achieved the position of leadership but didn't encourage, guide, or coach other women and subordinates. Instead of blaming these women, this stage offers a framework for kindness and helps us understand that behaving like a "Queen Bee" may have been the only way to survive as a woman chosen for management.

Understanding the few women in these positions wasn't always easy. Many remember Mary Cunningham's wholesome smiling face on magazine covers in the early '80s. Readers were confused and dismayed by reports that this successful Harvard Business School graduate quickly climbed to the executive level at Bendix Corporation because she was sleeping with the boss. Male and female classmates revealed in news reports ridiculously insignificant data about Ms. Cunningham's reserved, detached personality and her extensive conversations with professors following class. Comparisons were made to other more academically qualified classmates who were not yet in executive positions. The truth about Bendix included organizational problems and a C.E.O. with a failing marriage. The woman involved became the focus for all that went wrong. Mary Cunningham exemplified the superhuman power sometimes ascribed to the few women in leadership positions. Retrospective observers are left wondering if Mary Cunningham was

distorted by the media as a negative example of women and leadership in a society not convinced women should exercise authority at work.

Because women are compared to men at this stage there are problematic outcomes. While women can be in the same leadership role as men, limitations arise when women are seen as different or deficient. Second, being a pioneer includes the sometimes painful consequence that when old rules don't apply, new rules may be harsh or unfair. In the case of women in positions of leadership, misinformed assumptions may explain why people believe that women bring dangerous differences to the workplace. Reports that women's "feminine" ways at work can be synonymous with subterfuge may be a result of a very limited view. Further, it may suggest a need to redefine norms concerned with understanding gender differences in response to leadership.

Ever since the famous sex-role inventory (Vogel, Broverman, Broverman, and Rosenkrantz, 1972), researchers have utilized "masculine" and "feminine" identities as a foundation for understanding varying images of gender. In often cited examples, initial gender research explored the relationship between management status and the individual's gender role orientation, as measured by such instruments as Bem's (1974) Sex Role Inventory. The few studies exploring this issue found a strong relationship between leadership status and masculine identity. The successful manager was not only defined by "masculine" characteristics like dominant, strong, and logical, the assumption was that a woman could not be effective in such a leadership role because "feminine" characteristics were ascribed to unsuccessful managers. In other words, "feminine" characteristics like

submissive, sensitive, weak and illogical did not link to the "masculine" identity perceived as necessary for leadership.

The paradox is that although women were worthy to contribute they were not worthy enough to be considered in explorations of leadership. When women were identified in glowing terms, her successful promotion or management style was often ascribed to some successful male role-model or mentor.

It is not difficult to see the limitations of comparing worthy women to the men before them. So researchers began to cite the valuable qualities that women as managers bring to organizations (Grant, 1988; Loden, 1985). Although worthy, however, they make slow progress towards positions of leadership. When they reached mid-levels of management, they learned fast that higher levels of leadership danced forever out of reach.

To understand more about the women in management positions researchers tried to uncover which women are promoted. Jan Grant (1988, p. 56) suggested that when organizations reproduce themselves, they tend to advance people who are most like themselves. The promoting ladder, she asserted, had a deeply male foundation, and climbing it was clarified by an existing male hierarchy.

When Grant (1988) reported research that considers gender-based differences in manager behavior, the discussion turns to stage three: bifocal scholarship.

STAGE 3: BIFOCAL SCHOLARSHIP

Three themes identify this stage. First, men and women are conceptualized as generalized, separate, and complementary groups. A second theme is the anger that resulted from women's oppression: Why is so little known? Why aren't there more

women? And, a third theme is the attempts to overcome oppression through networks, educational experiences, and innovative strategies (Twombly, 1991, p. 13). It is at this stage where the bulk of all the research about women is found.

When the discussion conceptualizes women and men as different and separate groups, practitioners criticize the results. Deaux (1984) cautions that research evidence of broad psychological differences is not significant. Despite the intense interest on the part of journalists and the public, some psychologists have become uneasy about research that compares the sexes and now believe that such work ought to be discouraged (Eagly, 1995, p. 145). But bifocal scholarship was the necessary foundation for further work. This stage of separating, comparing, and presenting polar differences was an important step towards understanding what happens when men and women are together. Researchers needed to first consider gender separately, hypothesizing correctly that women were perceived to have different characteristics and experiences from men. Without the opportunity to further scrutinize woman's experience as unique and important in and of itself, women were never going to believe that equality at work would occur.

Particular questions about whether males are more innately "powerful" or "aggressive" are examples of qualities linked to leadership that have received considerable attention. Through the highly acclaimed theory of sociobiology (Wilson, 1975), we learned that biologically based sex differences in aggression play a central role in explaining how human dominates human. Therefore, it is argued that in male-female relations, the more aggressive men dominate women (Salzman, 1979, p. 71). This theory is then used to

explain why women play a subordinate position in everything from the family to the workplace.

The sex difference in aggression is just one example of a characteristic used to explain why we have more male leaders but there are a couple of reasons why this claim is significant. Sex differences in aggression, based in biological theory or not, plays a fundamental role in a number of theories. Second, there are methodological difficulties in establishing a gender base for complex behavior, like aggression.

In order to consider how or if sex differences in aggression explain why there are so many male leaders and so few female leaders, it is important to assess the studies conducted. Although the notion that males are more innately aggressive (Maccoby and Jacklin, 1974) is used in arguments to explain the consistently more aggressive behavior of boys, there are problems with validity. The concept of aggression is ambiguous. To define the trait scientifically would seem impossible. The dictionary defines aggression as an "unprovoked attack" or "physical assault." In everyday language, however, the term explains a whole range of attributes from anti-social behavior to combative behavior to highly regarded social behavior, such as competitiveness and dominance (Salzman, 1979, p. 73). Competitiveness and dominance are not only socially significant behaviors, they are also considered to be necessary traits for leaders.

Studies also tend to cluster a variety of traits and motives that are not necessarily related to one another (Salzman, 1979, p. 74). When authors Maccoby and Jacklin (1974, p. 368) indicate that male dominance and leadership has been linked to aggression, they state that it is the "killer instinct" that is involved in achieving success in the business

world. They further state that there will be a smaller number of women than men who will have the temperament for it. Finally, they predicted a shift toward more nonaggressive leadership styles in high-level management. The methodological problem includes the fact that the researchers extended the use of the term "aggression" to explain motives at work and the lack of female leaders. While the predicted shift in leadership style is an interesting one, it is necessary to consider more than the assumption about the way most males behave in a discussion of aggression and change at work. Behavior of females, and the interaction of males and females in competitive situations at work, are important missing factors.

Researchers investigated gender and management by comparing female behavior to male behavior. Some expected to learn that males managed differently than females. Grant (1988) learned that little personality or behavioral distinctions existed between male and female managers. Women tended to emulate the organizational model of management. Grant contends that many women, therefore, learned that being successful meant suppressing and eliminating attitudes and behaviors that would be typically female (1988, p. 57).

Grant argues that there are negative consequences for women and organizations if the pattern continues (1988). The very characteristics that are under-valued are the ones necessary to make organizations most responsive to human needs. She outlines six important areas that demonstrate how women's qualities will redefine organizational success. These include: communication and cooperation, affiliation and attachment, power, physicality, emotionality and lack of self-confidence, and intimacy and nurturance.

Considering the theme of gender differences, two of the areas are informative for discussion at this stage: Affiliation and attachment, emotionality and vulnerability. These are characteristics often ascribed to females. Not only have they traditionally been considered "feminine" characteristics (Vogel and other, 1972), they have also been linked to weak or ineffective leaders. On the other hand, no research, apparently, has ever asked how workers feel about having a female boss with these qualities (Harriman, p.189, 1985). The assumption is that the leader is male or at least conforms to some "masculine" model.

In other research, Donnell and Hall (1979, 1980) found that while there were few significant differences between male and female managers, men scored higher on interpersonal competence between managers and their peers. Why? Carli (1989) learned that assertive women in communication, although considered more competent than non-assertive women by both male and female respondents, were not responded to favorably by men. Men not only liked and trusted the non-assertive, self-deprecating women they were more likely to be influenced or persuaded to change their mind by the women they considered to be less competent. In other words, the men liked and were persuaded by the women who acted less clear, competent, and assertive in communication. The women, on the other hand, liked and were persuaded by both the men and the women who demonstrated clear, competent, and assertive communication.

Implications for relationships and responses at work emerge. Does a woman worker learn that success with male co-workers and male superiors relies on an ability to have dichotomous communication styles? Does she learn to use cautious, qualifying, self-deprecating language with men? In contrast, what happens in the presence of

women? What about mixed-group interactions at work? Perhaps some women have learned to acquire multiple-communication personalities at work. With the men she learns to say, "...I am no expert on this but..." In contrast she responds to women by saying, "Past experience and research clearly tell me..."

Multifocal scholarship (see stage:5) could include research that concerns the relational aspects of the questions Carli (1989) generates. But bifocal scholarship includes the themes of frustration and anger that are a result of feeling forced to play painful communication games. Some women said no. They were unwilling to feel molded or to act less capable in order to fit some male model of behavior. These women are not likely to be promoted and if already in leadership positions, they are forced out.

Self-help books, strategy seminars, and other forms of education thus emerged, designed sometimes patronizingly, to free women from the constraints of a male world. Television took on many of these topics. Gloria Steinam, an influential leader in the feminist movement, encourages self-esteem and argued that the polarization of "masculine" and "feminine" is a mutilation of whole selves, the two halves aren't halves at all. Male dominance means that admired qualities that are called "masculine" are more plentiful, while "feminine" ones are not only fewer but less valued (Steinam, 1992, p. 257).

Other approaches focus on women taking the leadership role in understanding a woman's experience, and then educating men about differences that can be troublesome and even amusing. One example, Tannen's (1990) book, *You Just Don't Understand*, considers men and women in conversation. Her discussion about the ways men talk and interrupt includes dispelling the notion that men always talk and women always listen

(Tannen, 1990, p.144). Her writing is one of many illustrations of researchers refusing to reinforce stereotypes, moving away from stage 3: bifocal scholarship and closer to stage 5: multifocal scholarship. What remains is a stage of scholarship that fits neatly in the middle--stage 4:feminist scholarship.

STAGE 4: FEMINIST SCHOLARSHIP

In this stage women are studied on their own terms. The central question of this stage is: What is the nature of women's experience as it is expressed by women? Not only is the diversity of women recognized at this point (Twombly, 1991, p. 13), the feminist fight and scholarship has by now changed society forever. Steinam is informative here when she cites physicist Capra who wrote that feminism will have a profound effect on further evolution because patriarchy is the one system whose doctrines are so universally accepted that they seemed to be the law of nature (1992, p. 188).

Bifocal scholarship began the journey and feminist scholarship became the turning point as researchers struggled to identify variables and isolate significant situations in a woman's experience. As a consequence, discussion was more often about how girls were different from boys and how women acted differently from men. There is currently criticism about studies that separates men and women by underlining differences. Although these studies may reinforce difficult to avoid sex-role stereotypes, each offers a view of issues important in the discussion of gender and leadership. For example, Horner (1969) who discussed women's fear of success, and Pollack and Gilligan (1982) who suggested a woman's motive to avoid success (1982, p. 164) are famous and fascinating

first attempts of research considering a woman's experience. More important, these studies are illustrations of theory-building about women.

Perhaps the most familiar theory on the separation of experiences of men and women is provided by Carol Gilligan (1982). Twombly (1991) explains that Gilligan's work is important because it draws our attention to the notion that men and women as a group may experience different stages of development. Gilligan uses the term "connection" as a goal motivating women not men. Gilligan's early work, however, extended beyond theorizing about differences. She systematically demonstrated how women's thinking, experiencing, and behaving in relationships reveals the limitations of measuring women's development against a male standard (Gilligan, 1982, p. 170). From this, Gilligan (1982) provided us with a different truth about visions of mature adulthood.

In this light, the work of Gilligan (1982) and Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, and Tarule (1986) suggest that understanding the differences between men and women in their consideration of fairness and care and in their modes of self-definition (separate vs. connected) is critical to any discussion of women and men's conceptions of leadership.

Gilligan's ten years of systematic research about the differences in female response to moral dilemmas provides an opportunity to apply its implications to the workplace. When she traced the development of morality around issues of responsibility and care by listening to girls and women resolve moral dilemmas in their lives, she was asking the world to remove the gender restrictions on the theory of moral development. The dilemma doesn't end in early development. Perhaps the fewer women leaders at work can be more clearly defined through developmental theory.

dominance and sex-role on leadership (Nyquist and Spence, 1986), and gender roles in attraction and predicting emerging leaders (Goktepe and Schneier, 1989). The conflicting results, however, echo the past.

Research examining the differences between men and women across broad areas of cognition revealed no significant sex differences (Deaux, 1988). With the exception of interaction of subject and task (Nyquist and others, 1986) and interaction of style and influence (Carli, 1989) results indicated no gender difference in leader-type behavior. Studies that attempted to examine differences in masculinity, femininity, and androgyny (see stage 3: bifocal scholarship using Bem, 1974) reported no gender differences in management but missed the mark methodologically. That research used broad social categories of masculinity, femininity, and the ambiguous category of androgyny only considered stereotyped differences in how people think they differ by sex. It did not consider gender differences in how people respond to leadership and did not take into consideration that men's and women's experiences are relational.

STAGE 5: MULTIFOCAL SCHOLARSHIP

For the most part, this stage is unrealized. Researchers are searching to redefine the disciplines and methodologies of women's scholarship. The search surfaces gender as a response defined by a set of complex, multi-variables. Theoretically, the definition of multifocal scholarship centers around the notion that men's and women's experiences are relational and as a result, have a dramatic affect on interactions everywhere from the family to work.

Two researchers, Twombly and Connell, are informative about the relational component in their research. Twombly cites Anderson (1988) as having made the hypothesis that men's and women's experiences are relational (1991, p.13). Connell's theory of gender (1987) is more extensive and based on three connecting assumptions: 1) gender and sex are patterned, 2) social structure, personal life and collective social arrangements are linked fundamentally, and 3) gender is produced by three interdependent social structures--labor, power, and sexual cathexis. These last three structures are the core of his thesis. Essentially, Connell asserts that the perception of masculine and feminine vary as the result of the combined interactions among the social structures of labor, power, and sexual cathexis.

In order to consider gender experiences at work as relational, it is necessary to hypothesize the relationship among the multi-variable themes: responses to the boss and work task; responses to the boss who demonstrates closeness and affiliation; responses to power, dominance, and the exercise of authority; and responses to underlying sexual tensions and dilemmas when the boss is female. Such a multifocal approach is both a relatively new and intellectually demanding task.

Environmental factors in the form of economic, political, and media pressures present one grand scale deterrent. Society has shifted from an interest in men's and women's scholarship to the view that it is not fashionable to focus on gender in a relational context. Such a focus drives men and women further apart by threatening the already fragile family and presents political and power problems and work. More troublesome, society learns,

men and women considered in any relational scholarship context present change and loss for the male.

Faludi (p. 303, 1991) supports Farrell's view that a multifocal view will be overpower a bi-focal one. In a 1971 New York Times essay Farrell wrote that the image of masculinity is so all-pervasive that is easier to use surgery to change a man's sex than it is to undo social and cultural conditioning. By 1985 Farrell and others decided it was time to start standing up for men by teaching that independent career women had become the oppressors and discriminated against the average man (Faludi, p. 303, 1991).

Multifocal scholarship is new and unrealized partially due to slowly evolving social change. To a greater extent, it is often impossible to conduct research in the most difficult of non-accepting environments. Perhaps, the paradox is contained in this fact. More understanding will only occur from consideration of men and women as "relational" but a separatist and differences focus is the safe way men and women relate. An integrated workplace illustrates the dangers the "relational" component presents. Trend stories in the '80s read, "Women invade man's world (Faludi, 1991, p. 365)."

In fact, in the few cases where working women made inroads, job-integration specialist Reskin opines (Faludi, 1991, p. 366), they were only admitted by default. In the occupations where women had made the most progress by entering "male" jobs, women succeeded only because the pay and status of these jobs had fallen dramatically and men were bailing out. In the high-paying white collar occupations the progress of women's successes slowed or stopped altogether by the end of the last decade (Faludi, 1991, p. 367).

Two preliminary investigations (Karanian, 1991; Karanian, 1992) will be used in the exploration of gender response to leadership and differential expectations that shape the language used in describing those in positions of leadership. Those studies were entitled: 1) Gender Responses To Leadership, and, 2) Gender Conceptions of Authority: Men Tell Stories About Woman as Teacher.

1. Gender Responses To Leadership

In a preliminary investigation approval and disapproval responses to the boss appeared to relate to specific leadership behaviors (Karanian, 1991). When male and female engineers representative of two northeastern based high technology companies responded to scenarios depicting effective and ineffective leadership a couple of interesting results occurred (Karanian, 1991).

First, dichotomy between approval and disapproval to leadership occurred. Approval responses were connected to the "task" of leadership. The subjects favorably described a hands-on approach, creation of an atmosphere of innovation, and a problem-solving approach. Disapproval seemed to concern more about what the leader was "like" and how they interacted with others. In the case of disapproval, the leader's approach was described in terms of how they interacted with others--insecure, not self-confident enough to delegate, gives up easily, too passive, and doesn't stand behind people.

Second, there was a difference in the way male and females responded when the sex of the leader was varied. Male were the only ones using the word "attack" in approval of the male leader. "He successfully attacked...great problem solving," and "...attacked the issue," are examples of responses. Females never used the word "attack" in approval or disapproval of the man or the woman in the leadership position. Further, only females used words like "sincere," "genuine," or "responsive" to describe approval (or the lack of) towards the leader regardless of sex.

Despite the methodological limitations of this study due to the small sample size, the uneven distribution of the gender of the participants, and the self-report instrument model,

it suggests possibilities for further research. Different language shaped the responses to leadership. Men and women used different words to describe what they liked and disliked about the boss. And, phrases used to describe the male leader in the scenario were different from language used to describe the female. There were no gender differences described in the "task" of leadership. The differences occurred in the context of what the leader was perceived to be "like." Perhaps the men expected and desired a male leader who could "attack" while the women wished for any leader who could care and connect. This finding could lead to a more relational component to the study of gender and leadership.

The following considers theory that is informative in the discussion of gender differences in expectation. Since differences in expectation shape responses to leadership, discussion will also include gender issues in language that reflects differences in both relating and in self-definition.

Because gender differences in interaction include issues of social context and ways of disclosure, developmental theory is pertinent. Maccoby (p. 514, 1990) reminds us that social behavior is never a function of the individual alone and asks us to consider the early developmental link to later gender relationships in the workplace. In her earlier work (see stage 3: bifocal scholarship) she learned that there existed pronounced attraction to same sex peers in childhood. In a more recent article (Maccoby, 1990) she discussed how her previous research provided her with a basis for a new working hypotheses. Maccoby states that boys have issues of competition and dominance. As a result, girls respond in a couple of ways that have adult implications. First, this aspect of dominance is aversive to

most girls. Second, girls find it difficult to influence boys. Most interesting of all is Maccoby's latest working theory. She believes that most girls find it aversive to try to interact with someone who is unresponsive and begin to avoid such partners (Maccoby, 1990).

Maccoby's recent article serves to provide an interpretation for the finding that men see "attack" behavior as favorable only in male leaders (Karanian, 1991) and generates useful questions about the relational aspect of gender and leadership. That more competitive and dominant boys grow up to be men at work who expect similar behaviors from other men is not surprising. If, however, men see the "attack" behavior as a necessary component of leadership in men, what happens when a woman exhibits the same behavior? Is it possible that male and female leaders are not only expected to behave differently in terms of competition and dominance, but that people at work respond differently despite similarities? "Attack" therefore could be a positive and necessary behavior in response from man to man. In contrast, could "attack" be an invisible, ignored or threatening behavior in response from man to woman? If Maccoby is correct that most little girls grow up to be women who avoid the men who are unresponsive to them, how do most women respond when their leadership acts are ignored or avoided? Finally, what happens when women interact with other women leaders?

Rosener (1990) and Helgesen (1989) are frequently quoted today because they are asking similar gender questions about leadership. While some male management professors (Sonnenbend, 1990) brush the gender issue aside, fearful that discussion

continues to reinforce stereotypes, others are convinced that changes in the workplace, and successes in organizations are direct results of newly defined leadership.

Today women are talking about not only the men but also the women undermining their leadership. Charlotte Kasl's 1989 book, *Women, Sex, and Addiction: A Search for Love and Power*, articulates the emotional entrapments that women in American society find themselves. Kasl (1989) tells us about the intense and often unhealthy results of competition among women. Women in high positions painfully discuss the sabotaging of honest effort, the unwillingness to associate, and refusal to offer praise to other women (Kasl, 1989). Perhaps women still become immobilized by insecurities about being worthy (see stage 2: woman worthies) of the leader role.

Before continuing the discussion of developmental influences on gender relations and leadership, it is useful to briefly consider intrapsychic interpretations of "feeling insecure" or "not worthy" in work groups. Smith and Berg's (p. 40-41, 1987) discussion of the fight-flight emotional state of the group illustrates. This group is united against ambiguous enemies. Conflict emerges around aggressive control and mistrust, suspicion, and fear of annihilation prevail. Perhaps, some female participants behave as a sub group in the larger work group when they talk about feeling unimportant or invisible. While no one wants to feel invisible at work, women tend to report this feeling more often than men. Whether or not this is more of an issue for the women than the men may not be as significant as the fact that the women are the ones discussing insecurity or invisibility (Karanian, 1991). Smith and Berg suggest that transformations in some work groups may occur when the issue grows between the women, who feel vulnerable, and the men who

feel secure, leading to a position that the women feel vulnerable because they are women, and the men feel secure because they are men (p. 162-163, 1987).

The works of Gilligan (1982) and Belenky and others (1986) are useful in this discussion of leadership for understanding the differences between males and females in their consideration of fairness and care and in their modes of self-definition (separate vs. connected). Women and men resolve the same conflicts in different ways. Women's ways of caring and knowing is built on the concept of connection. In other words, women see the world in terms of their dependence on building and maintaining relationships. Men, in contrast, see the world in terms of separation. They see the world in terms of their dominance of and independence from relationships.

Not only do these different voices give women the opportunity for a new leadership vision, they facilitate a new definition of leadership for both sexes. In a May, 1991 New York Times feature, women's evolving role in the work force was illustrated by Grace Pastiak's inclusive management style. Denying that her style is gender specific, Pastiak simply states that people do better when they are happy. Developmental theory by Gilligan and others suggest that women are more capable and likely to include others. When the "connected" approach emerges at work, whether in leadership or in response to leadership, inclusive problem-solving and creative team work occur.

Gilligan (1982) and Belenky and others (1986) offer an explanation for why other women, like the female engineers (Karanian, 1991), prefer a work world of connection. When a successful male or female leader was described by the women, words like "sincere" and "genuine" and "responsive" were used. In describing the same leaders, men

never shaped their responses with language that was even remotely connected. In post-evaluation interviews, these men said male leaders that acted "sincere" and "genuine" and "responsive" were wimpy and useless. Apparently the men saw connecting behaviors as a loss of manhood and therefore not an effective trait for any leader--male or female

2. Gender Conceptions of Authority: Men Tell Stories About Women as Teacher

Research using the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) to explore gender differences remains questionable in the areas of generalizability, validity, and reliability. Nonetheless, it is widely used. Findings about projective imagination suggest that women and men perceive and construct the relationship between self and others in different ways. One study explored the link between conception of gender and construction of authority in an adult classroom situation (Karanian, 1992).

Forty-two college students generated stories to a set of two pictures with either a male or a female as an authority stimulus character. Stories were coded for three imagery areas: context, success or failure, and the presence or absence of closeness or hostility. The results only partially confirmed previous research findings of a greater incidence of violence in men's fantasy. Whereas Horner (1968: 1972) found that women's fear of success was reflected in violent descriptions of academic competition, this study suggested that there is a greater incidence of hostile imagery in men's stories about a woman in an academic or work authority position. Unlike Pollack and Gilligan's (1982) findings that images of violence frequently appeared in stories written by men in responses to situations in affiliation, this study suggested that connection or hostility were images evident in male

responses to a women in authority (at work and/or in achievement). In contrast, when men wrote stories about men in authority the discussion was about success or failure in the teaching or leading process, presenting a problem, fixing a problem, with no incidence of hostility (Karanian, 1992).

The central hypothesis that men's stories about women in authority would be different from their stories about men in authority was confirmed. A significant half of the men's stories about the woman included either images of hostility or images of hostility and connection. The remaining half of the men's responses told stories about success attempts. In contrast, the overwhelming majority of men's stories about the man discussed attempts at success. While there was little or no incidence of responses other than the predictable achievement-oriented images of "success or failure on the job" in the stories about the man, the stories about the woman could be interpreted as providing evidence for other images. In other words, while men used images reflective of the "task" of leadership in the stories about the male authority, their stories about the female authority reflected both what she was "like" and a relational component.

The findings might suggest that men see their conception of gender and their conception of authority with clarity when the authority is male. Although authority and leadership are different concepts, it appeared that men imagine that the male in the authority position is either successful or unsuccessful in the "task" of leading. This confirmed earlier findings concerning gender responses to leadership (Karanian, 1991). Story themes were almost always about doing a good job, problem-solving, accomplishments, direction, and attempted success.

Something very different happens when the authority is female. Apparently, men do not see their conceptions of a woman in authority with the same clarity. Story themes were infrequently about the tasks of leadership or successful or unsuccessful achievement. Only a few stories included images about doing a good job or grasping an idea. Men's responses to the woman in an identical authority position to the man were about closeness, connection, and care. Sometimes this closeness was perceived as dangerous or threatening and sometimes it was comforting. As a result the stories about the woman included polar themes--harm or hostility on one end and closeness or connection on the other. Thus, men see men in the context of authority in task terms that include the opportunity for achievement. Even when success is not the achievement outcome, danger is not seen. On the other hand, men see woman in authority with a confusing mixture of affiliation and achievement images. Whether or not the story themes featured success, at the very least they are confusing. Enough of the time women in authority seemed to be perceived as threatening or dangerous.

To decipher the meaning of this preliminary data, psychological research in the areas of development and motivation are informative. Three researchers link gender development to adult behavior (Maccoby, 1990; Carli, 1989; and Gilligan, 1982). Maccoby (1990) discusses early childhood play and its influence on segregation of the sexes at work. Her focus considered the fact that most little girls avoided playing with boys because they weren't interested in being aggressive and they didn't like being ignored. Boys remember being separate and elite in childhood play, and experience a similar status at work. Not

only does a woman in authority change the status that they expected men to enjoy, it also forces the change from the separate to connected.

In explaining the pattern of gender differences in expectation, Carli (1989) argues that segregation by sex is common among children and adults in our culture, and that norms are often well established for sex-segregated sports, occupations, and games. Citing Hall, Carli (p. 566, 1989) states that the types of activities that men and women traditionally engage in may have shaped norms that developed for each gender. Carli elegantly intertwines developmental and group theory when she asks us to think about subjects' expectations about how men and women "ought" to behave reflected in what they "do" in same-sex and mixed-sex groups. We may be less clear about the appropriate norms for mixed-sex groups and modify our behavior to fit the type of interaction we "expect" from the opposite sex (p. 566, 1989).

In the context of gender responses to leadership (see above, Karanian, 1991), group members expecting an assertive, dominant, hands-on approach from men in leadership may see more effective leadership and therefore, describe the leader favorably. In another example, group members expecting a warm, responsive interaction from women in leadership positions may see warmth in women leaders and therefore, describe the leader accordingly. But only when group members see warmth as an appropriate response or when they need or want this response will they describe the leader favorably (Karanian, 1991).

Informative in the discussion of the men's conceptions of the woman authority (Karanian, 1992) Carli's recent research (1989) confirmed that men were more frequently

persuaded by non-forceful communication styles in the woman authority but also as the negotiator of interpersonal connection. Gilligan (1982) used the term connection as a goal motivating women. The outcome of this goal if a woman is in a leadership position is troublesome for men. It triggers confusing feelings and motives.

Results of the gender conceptions of authority analysis (Karanian, 1992) suggest that Maccoby's (1991) research may be about girls being the connecting force and boys growing up to be men who aggressively fight and avoid the closeness. Further study might consider the central issue of female as a leader, and also female responses in the position of authority and negotiator.

In summary, this chapter served three major purposes. First, Feminist phase theory was used to provide a mechanism for considering gender response to leadership. Second, while the first four stages took us through many seasons, stage 5: multifocal scholarship, presents a new and unrealized beginning.

Background And Purpose Of The Study

This research examines gender effects on the relationship between boss and subordinate by considering the concept of connection and its possible role in the construction of managerial leadership. While a preliminary study (Karanian with Tarule, Men Tell Stories About Woman as Teacher, 1992) did not figure into the first phase of data collection, it did provide the foundation for data collection and analysis. Under investigation were: the differences with gender in responses to male and female character stimuli in authority-type situations, and the relational images that explained the quality of how the respondents constructed leader behavior.

Findings from the preliminary examination suggested that women and men perceive and construct the relationship between self and others in different ways. The analysis explored the link between construction of gender and authority in an adult college classroom situation (Karanian, 1992). Forty-two college students generated stories to a set of two pictures with either a male or a female as an authority stimulus character. Stories were coded for three image areas: context, success or failure, and the presence or absence of connection, or hostility. Results indicated that connection or hostility were images evident in male responses to a women in authority(at work and/or in achievement). In contrast, when men wrote stories about men in authority the discussion was about success or failure in the teaching or leading process, presenting a problem, fixing a problem, with no incidence of hostility. Discussion of that investigation's findings might suggest that men see their conception of authority with clarity when the authority is male. Although authority and leadership are different concepts, it appeared that men imagine

that the male in the authority position is either successful or unsuccessful in the "task" of leading. This confirmed earlier research examining gender responses to leadership (Karanian, 1991). Second, men's responses to the woman in an identical authority position were about closeness, connection, and care. Sometimes this closeness was perceived as dangerous and sometimes it was comforting. Since a significant cluster of stories written by the males about the female in authority included hostile images or connection images, the central hypothesis that men's stories about women in authority would be different than their stories about men in authority was confirmed. Discussion of the results concluded that while men told traditional leadership stories about the male authority, their stories about the female reflected both what she was "like" and a relational component about her authority.

It was through that preliminary investigation and later pilot studies that the link between gender and constructing leadership became clear. The following discussion shows the conceptual basis and logic for the data collection coding system in the current study. Two approaches were used to study and analyze data in order to assure that the research design remained faithful to my conceptual goal. To achieve this goal, I utilize part of an established coding system to elaborate and create my own coding system. Then, I analyze extensive story images and themes. Second, a validated instrument in the form of the L-BLA questionnaire, provides an alternative research measure perspective. Therefore, this study uses two forms of data: 1) story images, and 2) L-BLA questionnaire. Finally, discussion considers how the trends and patterns of the results can create explanations for the different ways people construct leader behavior.

Umbrella Hypothesis

The gender of the individual in the authority position influences the subordinate's construction of the leader's qualities. The differences in how men and women construct leader behavior is defined by the imagined presence or absence of connection.

Hypothesis 1-a

Subjects react quite differently to pictures of someone in an authority position, depending on the gender of that person. All subjects are more likely to rate a female boss high on "connection" than they are a male boss.

Hypothesis 1-b

All subjects are more likely to tell "separate" stories about the male boss than they are a female boss.

Hypothesis 2

Male subjects are more likely than female subjects to dislike, disapprove, and respond with hostility toward the woman boss.

Chapter II:

METHOD

This chapter describes methodology and instruments used in the research. It discusses pre-test, two instruments: the L-BLA and the picture test, procedure, and coding categories for the picture test.

Conduct of Pre-Test

The methodology used in this study was based on the results of the pre-test. The goals of the pre-test were to assure that the methodology was workable, to establish time requirements, and to assure that the instruments captured elements of connection in the way that was conceptualized. The pre-test data also provided training materials for individuals who coded stories.

The pre-test was conducted in an academic milieu where the subjects were similar in background and age to the subjects used in the present study. One finding that emerged from this pre-test concerned who should serve as experimenter. In one pre-test situation the experiment was conducted by the author and her students served as subjects. One of the findings based on the author as experimenter with student subjects, pertained to the subjects' responses. This condition seemed to place certain demands on the subjects that appeared to bias the results. As a result, it was determined to be important that the test be administered by a more neutral person.

Because of the potential demands that subjects may perceive an experimenter as imposing it was determined that the test should be administered by a "neutral"

experimenter. Further, if it was necessary to have more than one experimenter it was determined that these individuals should be similar to each other in characteristics of age and gender.

Subjects

Fifty-two respondents were drawn from 4 workplaces located within a 50 mile range of Boston, Massachusetts. Subjects from all four workplaces were white-collar, professionals. Two of the four workplaces were high-technology companies where many of the employees are engineers. Of these two one company was traditional and worked on defense contracts, while the other was a successful start-up company in the area of media technology. Another was a major construction company where most of the employees are engineers or contractors. Finally, the fourth was a large, non-traditional and private organization with professional employees who had backgrounds in business or engineering. All subjects had at least one year of professional work experience. The sample includes 25 female subjects and 27 male subjects. Subjects ranged in age from 24 to 58 years old.

Development of Instruments

Due to the innovative nature of this research, and in the interest of exploring the conception of connection in the construction of leadership, methods cannot rely on quantitative tests. Methodology must capture thoughts and images not previously measured or expressed through standardized procedures.

In a recent American Psychologist, Ekman (1993, p. 395) outlined the following requirements necessary for a psychological test: 1) standardized materials and procedures,

2) optimal motivation, 3) immediate recording, 4) objective scoring and high inter-judge reliability, 5) appropriate norms, and 6) established validity. The research design for this study fulfills these requirements by utilizing the TAT-type diagnostic technique, the conceptualization of coding for connection, and separateness, intensive and consistent training for the coding, immediate recording, high reliability among coders, and the established validity of the L-BLA style inventory.

A. Lipman-Blumen-Leavitt (L-BLA) Instrument Background

The Lipman-Blumen-Leavitt Achieving Styles Inventory (1983) was chosen for use in this research as a means to investigate connection in a subject's construction of a boss. The pioneer study that influenced the creation of the L-BLA was conducted on gender stereotypes (Broverman, Vogel, Broverman, Clarkson, and Rosenkrantz, 1972). That was the beginning of a series of major contributions concerning gender and behavior. What makes the L-BLA so appropriate is its relational component in analyzing leadership behavior.

Careful analysis of the relational managerial model developed by Counts (1987) supports the use of the L-BLA Achieving Style Inventory in this research. Achieving styles are the preferred strategies or means individuals employ to accomplish tasks, to achieve, to implement their plans, and to get things done (Lipman-Blumen et al, 1983). Counts (1987) cites Lipman-Blumen et al (1983) when she underlines the need in the leadership literature for a measure that concerns "people orientation" and the use of relationships as the medium for achieving.

Although three domains are identified, the relational domain is of specific interest in this dissertation because it comes closest to a validated measure of the considerations of care and response categories conceptualized later in this chapter (Lyons, 1982; Gilligan, 1982).

The L-BLA is a Likert-style instrument that includes 45 items and requires seven to ten minutes to complete. Three major domains are identified: direct, instrumental, and relational. Three types of styles are contained in each of the three domains. Means are calculated for nine achieving subject styles. Similar to Counts' (1987) research the author relies on the relational domain in the L-BLA analysis in this research.

The relational domain measures achievers who contribute actively or passively to relationships as part of their own accomplishments. In the relational domain lies the relationships between self and other, or the interdependence between managers and those with whom they work (Counts, 1987, p. 88). Care and response i.e., connection, are the considerations. Represented are three categories of relational thought:

- 1) collaborative-relational- The collaborative style is illustrated by the team player who thrives on sharing and receiving credit and responsibilities for group endeavors;
- 2) contributory-relational- The contributory achiever contributes actively by helping, supporting, and encouraging the success of another while essentially taking a secondary role or they meet their achievement needs by contributing to the success of another; and
- 3) vicarious-relational- The vicarious achiever identifies with others and passively or indirectly perceives others' accomplishments as their own. Therefore the relational domain of the L-BLA offers a conceptually appropriate measure for connection.

L-BLA Instrument

The L-BLA Styles Inventory (Lipman-Blumen, Form 10, 1983) is comprised of 45 Likert-scale items. The instrument requires approximately ten minutes to complete. Most items are descriptive statements of behavior used in accomplishing or implementing goals. Subjects are asked to respond along a seven point scale from "never"(1) to "always"(7) as if they were speaking as the boss in the picture, "Imagine that you are speaking for the boss in the picture" (directions in Procedure section). Nine sub scales, each comprised of five items are each divided with three subscales keyed to each of the three previously described achieving styles(direct, instrumental, and relational). This research utilized on the relational domain scores.

The instrument is scored by summing the subject's responses over the five items of each sub-category (collaborative-relational, contributory-relational, vicarious-relational) and dividing by the number of items answered. Three relational domain scores are used in this research: L-BLA 7=collaborative-relational; L-BLA 8=contributory-relational; and L-BLA 9=vicarious-relational. The average of the three relational sub-category scores is the relational domain score, or the overall mean=L-BLA R.

B. Picture Test and TAT

The methodology in this study for the picture tests is based on the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT). While the TAT was originally designed to clinically categorize unconscious images (Murray, 1943), Atkinson (1958) successfully utilized it to measure achievement motives. The TAT has been demonstrated as not only a fruitful method for capturing achievement motivation, affiliation motivation, and power motivation, it has

more recently been acclaimed for testing compatibility and productivity of workers to the workplace (McClelland, 1975).

The TAT, a diagnostic and projective test, was designed by Murray in 1943 (Mearbee, 1966). The original instrument included 19 pictures and a single blank sheet. Despite evidence that the TAT was questionable as a reliable measure, researchers agree that it is capable of capturing images not likely to be expressed with other techniques (Sharkey and Ritzler, 1985; Worchel, Aaron, and Yates, 1990). Others recommend consistency and clear labeling for more generalizable results (Keiser and Prather, 1990).

Previous investigation (Karanian, 1991) confirms that asking subjects to tell stories about pictures creates a successful basis for gender analysis. TAT pictures are traditionally referred to as cards. Previous findings indicate gender differences in response to male and female cards (Worchel, Aaron, Yates, 1990, p.601) and gender differences not attributable to the type of TAT card administered. While these findings have no specific relationship to the present study's examination of connection and managerial leadership, results are informative. In the first, male and female cards elicited different responses according to the factor of General Concern (based on the Fine in [Schneidman, 1951] scoring system). Subjects responded more frequently to the General Concern categories of conflict, effort, escape, verbal hostility, sexuality, ambivalence, fear, acceptance, and separation when the female TAT cards were administered. In the second, not attributable to the type of card, women responded more often to items of the

Interpersonal Relations factor scale than did men. Included here are categories of loneliness and acceptance.

Problems must be addressed. While the TAT avoids the problems of data elicited from direct interview questions where results maybe subject to distortions due to social desirability and the participant's perceived expectations by the researcher (Friedman et Al, 1992), problems of interpretation arise. Since the TAT requires subjects to project their personality, mood, and perceptions onto the picture stimulus when they tell a story, it is questionable what the measure reflects. Controversy exists concerning whether the measure reflects how individuals perceive themselves, how they perceive others, how they actually behave, cultural norms, gender stereotypes, or some combination of all these possibilities (Friedman, 1992). Since the author is investigating individual differences in perceptions about authority and leadership, the individual's portrayal of the picture stimulus is very useful. Interpreting the relationship among the factors of individual vs. other perception, cultural norms and stereotypes is a central part the current study.

The author modified the traditional TAT approach in both picture choice and coding scheme. Coding techniques for the use of the picture test replicates validated techniques used by Pollak (1985) and Lyons (1991). For detailed definitions and conceptualization for the coding schemes, and sample coding for objective scoring see p. 50 - p. 56 (and Figure 1, Figure 2, Figure 3).

Stimulus Pictures

- ◆ Picture 1 (FA PIC) This picture depicts a mature and professionally dressed woman alone. She is either leaning or standing, and has a smile on her face.

- ♦ Picture 2 (FG PIC) This is picture of a mature woman standing at an easel and leading a group of men and women. She has a pointer in her hand to indicate items or words written on the paper.
- ♦ Picture 3 (MA PIC) This picture depicts a mature and professionally dressed man alone. He appears to be sitting, and has a smile on his face.
- ♦ Picture 4 (MG PIC) This is a picture of a mature man standing at an easel and leading a group of men and women. He has a pointer in his hand to indicate words or items written on the paper. This picture(Picture 4) and Picture 2 are identical. Only the gender of the individual standing at the easel changes.

The pictures were chosen to portray ordinary and typical seasoned adults as they would appear in a business environment. Black and white pictures were deliberately used to eliminate color cues. One of the purposes of the pre-test was to assure that nothing in the pictures interfered with an authority context. One of the findings from the pre-test was that the subjects did not perceive the male (MG PIC), depicted as the major character stimulus, as the authority. Story images revealed that he appeared younger. For example, he was viewed as a trainer being evaluated by his boss who was sitting in the back of the room. In another case, story themes indicated that he was a subordinate making a presentation to a group that included his boss. As a result, the same major character stimulus was graphically altered, with the aid of computer design, to portray a more mature male.

Procedure for Data Collection

The L-BLA and the pictures were administered using the Atkinson (McClelland, 1975) group format, by four male test administrators (TA's), all male professional employee representatives from the workplaces from which the subjects were drawn. These TA's were intensively trained by the author. They had served as subjects in a class experience

where a TAT-like test was used for educational purposes. Since they all served as subjects they were sensitive to the experimental procedure.

The four TA's volunteered to administer the tests. All were given instructions to be neutral. They met individually with the researcher twice. The first meeting was designed for step-by-step procedure instructions, and a role-play to ensure consistency. For example, we considered what would happen if one of the subjects(s's) in their group asked, "Who was the boss in the picture?" What would he say? For every example of this and similar questions the TA's were instructed to reread the directions. They were discouraged from saying anything other than reiterating the explicit, written directions. Each of the four received a small honorarium.

The tests were administered in small groups in the subject's workplace by the TA's. When the subjects assembled in the room the TA explained the research procedure.

All subjects received identical directions and the L-BLA survey, but individual packets varied to include one of the four pictures. Each subject received one of the four stimulus pictures. Thus there were four different pictures: 1) a female depicted alone (FA), 2) a female depicted standing in front of a group (FG), 3) a male depicted alone (MA), and 4) a male depicted standing in front of the group (MG). The MG and FG are practically identical pictures--only the gender of the individual standing changes.

In every case the directions to the subjects are prefaced by the following statement:

Thank you very much for taking time during this meeting to assist a colleague's research about attitudes in the workplace. This should take about 20 minutes. Your responses are anonymous and will be placed in this envelope and sealed. I assure you that I will not look at the responses.

After this portion of the directions, the TA affirmed that all subjects were willing to participate. He then handed out the packets. The packets contained four pages: the picture page, and the three page L-BLA. The picture instrument included an itemized place in the upper right corner for subjects to indicate gender, age, and years of professional experience. The TA then read the following directions:

Indicate on the front of the packet whether you are male or female, your age, and the number of years that you have worked. You are asked to do two things. First, imagine that you can tell a story about the boss in the picture. Who are the people? How do they know each other? What's happening? What will happen next? Be as creative as you like. Flip over the picture page and write on the other side.

"Then, after you have completed writing the story, and only after you have written the story, imagine that you are speaking for the boss when you fill out the questionnaire. How would the boss describe themselves as leader?

The subjects were given as much time as they needed to respond. Individual subjects returned the completed test packet to the TA as they finished. The experiment took from 20 to 30 minutes to administer. No problems were reported. The TA was instructed to reread the directions if subjects had any questions.

Conceptualizing the Coding Schemes

Three major response categories were established for the TAT-type picture instrument. The two major foci for this study were 1) connection, and 2) separate. In addition, the stories were coded for 3) hostility. This section describes the three coding schemes.

CONNECTION

The view that society's images of women in authority are perceived and constructed differently from but in relation to men is theoretically discussed (Stiver, 1991; Tannen, 1990; Miller, 1991; Boyatzis, 1974; Bailyn, 1986). Findings, however, are infrequently based in empirical data (Counts, 1987). Utilizing the conceptual framework of connection, this study attempts to test the ways individuals construct their images of boss behavior. Connection is based on the theoretical discussions cited above and the empirical findings in Gilligan (1982) and Lyons (1982) and Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, and Tarule (1986). "Connection" is the term used as a goal motivating women not men. Theorizing suggested that perspectives of self and morality were related to but not defined by gender and suggested that a woman's thinking, experiencing, and behaving in relationships could be traced to modes of self-definition (separate vs. connected).

The categorization scheme used to code for connection in the story images is drawn from Lyons' (1982) elaborate identification and coding scheme. Using the story data, the content of each respondent's conception of connection is examined in terms of three aspects of a story about a boss: a) story construction of boss, b) the images surrounding what the boss is like, and c) the images of the boss acting as leader. Connection is defined in part by the logic of Lyons (1982) "Consideration of Response" category and extended to include four categories: CONSIDERS OTHERS (collapsed into this category are the four other "considers" categories); CARING, DEVOTED AND WILLING TO GET CLOSE AND INCLUDE SUBORDINATES; EMOTIONALLY EXPRESSIVE AND

ABLE TO REFLECT/PROCESS FEELINGS OF SUBORDINATES OR GROUP; and
PAYS ATTENTION TO PROMOTING SELF-ESTEEM IN SUBORDINATES.

In the instructions to the coders, the four categories of connection are presented in Figure 1 with examples of actual story images of individuals. Responses of adults (m and f respondents ranging from age 19-37) from the original study and pre-tests are included. The table is split into two columns. One explains the category and the other presents illustrations from preliminary test data. As Lyons (1982, p. 52) suggests, the categories and the examples are meant to be read together, although there is not always a strict, one-to-one correspondence between them. Connection is defined as present in a story when two coders agree that a particular category/example appears with 75% of the sample data. While the examples are from actual story data, the following listing changes and mixes gender identity of story images.

Figure 1

<u>Connection Category</u>	<u>Examples</u>
1. CONSIDERS OTHERS	"He was the kind of boss who always listened to us. He considered our views..."
CONSIDERS Maintaining or Restoring Relationships	"She was concerned that they didn't like her. So she kept trying to plan a luncheon for everyone."
CONSIDERS the Welfare/Well being of Others	"After a 20 year run as president she will turn over the business to her daughter."
CONSIDERS the Primacy of the Situation over Principles	"He was trying to work out a solution that would be the best for the whole group. He wanted it to be the least upsetting for everyone."
CONSIDERS Care of the Self	"He's the kind of boss who feels bad when he does things poorly... He could have made a better career choice, now he is stuck in this dead end job "
2. CARING, DEVOTED, and Willing to Get Close or Include Subordinates	"She spent the time and tried to include them in the problem-solving session...The senior chemist was developing a miraculous potion that would cure the earth."
3. EMOTIONALLY EXPRESIVE and able to Reflect, Process Feelings, of Subordinates or Group	"She kept asking if anyone noticed that there was tension in the room. No one would answer. She said that she was sure that we would be able to finish the project if we talked about the bad feelings..."
4. PAYS ATTENTION TO PROMOTING SELF-ESTEEM in Subordinates	"She held extra classes because she knew that we were doing badly...and we felt awful about failing and doing so poorly." "He's the kind of boss who is really positive about giving feedback to the group...and to me in my performance appraisal."

SEPARATE

Separate knowers may be characterized by a tough minded approach. When presented with a proposition, they look for the flaws. They assume everyone, including themselves, is wrong; and they are especially suspicious of ideas that feel right (Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, and Tarule, 1986). Separation may be characterized by indifference, withdrawal, and diffidence (Miller, 1991, p.125).

The conceptualization of separate/objective is drawn from Lyons (1982), Gilligan (1982), and Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, and Tarule (1986) and defines individuals as separate in relation to others. While individuals experience relationships in both terms of reciprocity (separate) and responsiveness (connection), one way may predominate. The categorization scheme to code for separate is drawn from Lyons (1982) elaborate identification coding scheme and is referred to as "Consideration of Rights." The refined categories for separate are presented in Figure 2 and include: CONSIDERS THE SELF; CONSIDERED HOW THE DECISION WAS JUSTIFIED; CONSIDERED WHETHER VALUES OR PRINCIPLES WERE MAINTAINED; DOES NOT PAY ATTENTION TO FEELINGS, PROCESS OF THE GROUP, OR SELF-ESTEEM OF SUBORDINATES.

Figure 2

<u>Separate Category</u>	<u>Examples</u>
1. CONSIDERS THE SELF	"He is the kind of boss that answers first to higher ups, he cares more about himself than us."
CONSIDERS DUTY, obligations	
CONSIDERS RULES, standards, fairness, for self or others	"She worried about what the administrators said"
CONSIDERS that others have their own contexts	"She had no confidence in making the decision herself. She would have to go upstairs and ask the boss. So she told us it was out of her hands."
2. CONSIDERED how the decision was justified	"He knew it wasn't really right, he was sure his bosses were watching. He was afraid they would think he had no control over his subordinates. So he lied. Just like that...he did it to avoid getting into trouble with them."
3. CONSIDERED whether VALUES or principles were maintained	"She didn't even notice us. We didn't matter. It was like the only person in the audience was her boss. She didn't care about our interests or concerns."
4. DOES NOT PAY ATTENTION TO FEELINGS, process of the group, or self-esteem of subordinates	"He didn't want to introduce any subject at the meeting that was open to bad feeling or bitterness. He kept everything under strict control. He ignored any topic he had not chosen for discussion."

HOSTILITY

The category of hostility was created because the preliminary findings suggested that a cluster of male subjects responded with dislike, disapproval, and aggression or violence to female authority images. Not only were males the only ones that wrote hostile stories in the preliminary tests, only the males told aggressive or violent stories about the female in the picture.

Hostility is examined by considering two aspects of hostile behavior: aggression and violence. The research and resulting empirical findings by Pollak (1983, p.87) provides the conceptual basis for hostility. Analysis is based on story images that show presence or absence of either: 1) aggression defined as the intent of one individual to hurt another, and/or 2) violence conceived as aggression taken to an extreme, the infliction or act of harm (Maccoby and Jacklin, 1974). Any story that is seen by the coders as including one or multiple acts of aggression or violence is coded for hostility.

In Figure 3, both aggressive and violent perspectives are presented by category and include examples from the preliminary test data.

Figure 3

<u>Hostile Category</u>	<u>Examples</u>
1. AGGRESSIVE THOUGHT Intent of one to hurt another	"I'll show her. She'll know what real pain feels like." "I felt like stabbing that knife into her." "She is so impressed with herself, I felt like hitting her." "No harm done yet." "She is a mean person, she want to see us in pain." "She is the kind of person I hate getting for a boss. I can't stand the sight of her."
2. VIOLENT THOUGHT the infliction or act of harm	"A good fire in the night is a lovely sight." "She stuck the knife into him and blood was spurting all over the place." "She enjoyed the sight of him bleeding to death, but when she woke up she had been day dreaming about when she drove over a dog and killed him on the way to work that morning." "The newspaper caption read that the boss was found stabbed to death in apartment after greatest speech ever made."

Chapter III:

RESULTS

A. Reliability of Story Coding

Each story was coded for the three attributes (connection, separate, and hostility) by two coders. The coders worked separately. Neither coder was aware of the hypotheses for the research study. One was a licensed psychologist with projective and diagnostic training (D) and the other was a library science professional with no clinical or counseling psychology background (K).

Each coder was trained using pre-test materials. The coders were trained to identify the "boss" in the story as the major character stimulus. In some cases, they noted some story themes that considered the boss to be someone other than the male or female standing in front of the group. They also reviewed pre-test story images during extensive sessions for the purpose of categorizing the absence or presence of the four categories. Stories were first read for category definitions and/or quotes with the aid of three image coding sheets. Similar to Lyons (1982) the coders were encouraged to read the coding scheme category definitions and quotes together. Each coder coded each story for the presence of the three attributes using the coding scheme described in the preceding chapter.

Whereas consensus between the two coders for the hostile category was reached quickly and easily, the coders agreed that the connection and separate categories were novel conceptual categories and had complex definitions. With discussion and referral to

THAT PERSON. ALL SUBJECTS ARE MORE LIKELY TO RATE A FEMALE BOSS HIGH ON "CONNECTION" THAN THEY ARE A MALE BOSS (HY 1-a).





1. Picture Responses

There are two parts of the analysis for testing HY 1-a: 1) the stories generated by the pictures, and 2) the L-BLA questionnaire. In the first part stories were coded and scored for the presence or absence of connection. Table 3 shows the results in the picture test portion of the data.

On first appearances, using the story data and looking at aggregate responses Hy 1-a would seem to be rejected, since respondents saw a similar degree of connection. Eighteen of 26 respondents wrote stories indicating connection for the F boss compared to 17 of 26 for the M boss. Overall, the gender of the boss did not elicit different values of connection. But this finding reflected the combined responses of both female and male subjects, as required by HY 1-a. The data was subsequently examined more closely, including a comparison of female vs. male respondents.

In the consideration of aggregate responses for the four pictures (see Table 3) F bosses are not perceived by all Ss in a way that reflects more connection than are male bosses. There are no significant differences in the comparison of all connection responses of the F to the M pictures. This was a finding of considerable interest. Not only is this finding counter to an hypothesis that is compatible with extensive research, it was also reflective of data from female and male working adults ($n=52$), from four separate workplaces of different administrative cultures. F bosses were not perceived by these Ss in a way that reflected more connection than were M bosses.

TABLE 3 CONNECTION RESPONSES BY SEX OF SUBJECT

					n=
Sex of S	6/7	5/6	4/7	4/5	25
F	86%	85%	56%	80%	
M	3/6	4/7	5/9	4/5	27
	50%	56%	58%	80%	
Total n = 52					

In the comparison of female vs. male respondents, female S's used more connection images than male Ss in response to the boss across all four pictures (19/25 vs. 16/27). For all four pictures (F and M bosses, depicted alone or in a group setting) the percentage of stories of male Ss showing connection was always lower than the percentage of female stories. Across the board females, looking at bosses, tended to tell more stories with connection images (see table 3).

Two unpredicted findings were noted. First, while female connection ratings of the female boss pictures (FA=86%, FG=85%) were higher than the male ratings of the female boss Pictures (FA=50%, FG=56%), males rated a male boss depicted in group PIC (MG=80%) higher on connection than they rated a female boss depicted alone (FA=56%). The incidence of these ratings may be explained by the major character stimulus in the MG PIC contrasted to the major character stimulus in the FA picture. The lower percentage of connection stories for the FG picture (50%) than the MG picture (80%) may be due to the female depicted alone being perceived as a non-traditional boss in the FA picture in contrast to the traditional male character depicted in front of a group in the MG picture. Non-traditional in this context refers to the probability that males were more likely than females to imagine that the M boss in the picture depicted with a group was a manager than to imagine that the F boss in the PIC depicted with a group, was a manager.

Second, both female and male ratings of all bosses included similarly high connection ratings (from females about all PIC's) and similar moderate connection rating (from males about all PIC's). Briefly here, similarity by sex of respondent may have reflected an

aggregate response about the importance of connection in an individual's evolving theory of leadership.

Some gender differences by respondent did occur for the authority depicted with a group portion of the data. Females were more likely than males to use connection images for the woman boss depicted with a group. Eighty-five per cent of the female respondents used connection images for that woman boss (see Table 3b). By contrast, in the male stories about the woman boss depicted with a group (see Table 3b), connection images were found in only 56% of the stories (see Table 3b).

Table 3a Connection Responses for Authority Alone by Sex of S





		
Sex of S	6/7	4/7
F	86%	56%
M	3/6	5/9
	50%	58%

Table 3b Connection Responses for Authority with Group by Sex of S

		
Sex of S	5/6	4/5
F	85%	80%
M	4/7	4/5
	56%	80%

While female subjects are more likely to rate a female boss high on connection than a male boss, they are also likely to use high connection images when a boss of either gender is depicted with a group. 3 of 4 pictures generated high connection images from female subjects. It was highest in the PIC of the woman boss depicted with a group. Male subjects are not only likely to rate a female boss lower overall on connection than are the female subjects, they also use slightly more connection images for the male boss depicted with a group compared to the boss shown alone (see Table 3b).

Overall subjects do not see a female boss higher on connection than a male boss but HY 1-a receives weak support if one considers only the group portion of the data.

2. L-BLA Responses

In the second part of the analysis L-BLA scores were analyzed. Subjects were instructed in the following manner, "...after you have completed writing the story, and only after you have written the story, imagine that you are speaking for the boss when you fill out the questionnaire.

"How Would The Boss Describe Themselves As Leader?"

In the L-BLA Achieving Styles Inventory (L-BLA 7, 8, and 9 respectively), each picture had a "boss" who was scored as collaborative-relational, contributory-relational, and vicarious-relational. Means were calculated for all three of these scales, and for a combined relational score. The combined means (L-BLA R) are used for the consideration of aggregate results (see Table 4).

Using the L-BLA results HY1-a is rejected since respondents' scores were moderately similar indicating connection (relational means) at an average of 5.2 for the F boss in the pictures compared to an average of 4.7 for the M boss in the pictures (see Table 4).

Table 4 Means for Picture Type by Sex of Respondent

	<u>Sex of Respondent</u>	
	Female	Male
Picture		
F alone		
LBLA7	5.14	5.7
LBLA8	4.57	5.57
LBLA9	4.29	5.43
Overall Relational Mean	4.67	5.57
F group		
LBLA7	5.23	5.57
LBLA8	4.94	4.94
LBLA9	5.5	4.43
Overall Relational Mean	5.48	4.98
M alone		
LBLA7	4.77	4.31
LBLA8	4.51	4.44
LBLA9	5.5	4.43
Overall Relational Mean	4.48	4.47
M group		
LBLA7	5.28	4.96
LBLA8	5.4	5.4
LBLA9	4.76	4.76
Overall Relational Mean	4.83	5.04

The means were analyzed more closely in each of the four pictures for the aggregate responses. All subjects reported the lowest means for the picture of the M boss. When the male boss was depicted alone (4.5) the means were the lowest, by contrast to the male

boss depicted with a group (4.9). Subjects indicated slightly higher connection (relational) responses for the F boss by contrast to the M boss. Means for the F boss depicted alone or the F boss depicted with a group indicated remarkably similar connection results (5.1 and 5.3 respectively).

When the data was analyzed for differences between pictures, subjects indicated significantly lower connection (relational) means for the M boss depicted alone than for the F boss depicted alone (4.5 and 5.1 respectively). This result indicated mild support for HY1-a.

Sex effects for the L-BLA findings also provide mild support for HY1-a. Results indicated that the female respondents were more likely to rate the female in the group (FG) with higher relational (connection) scores than male respondents for the male alone (MA) or the male in the group (MG). These mean comparisons support HY 1. Not predicted was the result that Female alone (FA) received higher connection ratings from the male respondents than from the female respondents. Interestingly, different patterns of response existed for female and male respondents in the comparison of the FA to the FG or the MA to the MG. The female respondents' relational mean for the FA was lower than the FG (4.67 vs. 5.48) and for the MA it was slightly lower than the MG (4.48 vs. 4.83). In contrast, the male respondents saw the female boss depicted alone (FA) as higher on connection than the female boss depicted with the group (FG). The overall relational mean comparison was 5.57 vs. 4.98. And male respondents saw the male depicted alone (MA) lower on connection than the male in the group (MG). The relational mean

comparison was 4.47 vs. 5.04. Both of these findings would appear to indicate a pattern of connection responses.

In order to compare the alone versus group pictures L-BLA scores are considered first by sex of subject, overall relational mean and the authority depicted alone (Table 5), and then by sex of subject, overall relational mean and the authority with a group (Table 6). Some differences were found in the comparison of gender of PICs by sex of subject. Male and female subjects reported the lowest connection means for the M boss depicted alone (4.5) in the comparison across the 4 pictures. The highest connection results were reported by the male respondents for the F boss depicted alone (5.6) and by female respondents for the F boss depicted with the group (5.5). The largest difference were found with the female respondents indicating higher connection for the F boss depicted with the group (5.5) by contrast to the same male and female responses to the M boss depicted alone (4.5). Based on the aggregate L-BLA data HY 1 is rejected. If one considers each portion of the findings, HY 1 would appear to gain weak support with the sex effects (m or f subjects), across the two types of pictures, and in the interaction of sex, gender of authority, and picture type, to be discussed next.

Table 5 L-BLA R Means for Pictures of Authority Alone by Sex of S

Sex	FA	MA
F	4.67	4.48
M	5.57	4.47

Table 6 L-BLA R Means for Pictures of Authority with a Group by Sex of S

Sex	FG	MG
F	5.48	4.83
M	4.98	5.04

Analysis of Interactions

In order to look at the possible interaction between three independent variables (sex of respondent, gender of authority in the picture, and authority depicted alone or with a group) the L-BLA data was analyzed using a three-way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA). Scores for all L-BLA means (L-BLA7, L-BLA8, L-BLA9, and L-BLAR) were computed for the three factors: sex of respondent, gender of boss, and boss depicted alone/or with a group. The ANOVA confirms no significance for any main effects (see tables 7, and 7a), and there are no significant results for the interaction effects.

Table 7

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE

LBLAR Overall Relational Mean BY C_SEX Gender of Subject C_GPICT Gender of Boss C_A_NOT Alone or Group					
Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F	Signif of F
Main Effects	4.497	3	1.499	.754	.526
C_SEX	.210	1	.210	.106	.746
C_GPICT	2.816	1	2.816	1.417	.24
C_A_NOT	1.061	1	1.06	.534	.469
2-way Interactions	1.611	3	.537	.270	.847
C_SEX C_GPICT	.118	1	.118	.059	.809
C_SEX C_A_NOT	1.167	1	1.167	.587	.448
C_GPICT C_A_NOT	.429	1	0.43	.216	.644
3-way Interactions	2.061	1	2.061	1.037	.314
C_SEX C_GPICT C_A_NOT	2.061	1	2.061	1.037	.314
Explained	8.168	7	1.167	.587	.763
Residual	87.436	44	1.987		
Total	95.604	51	1.875		

Table 7a Summaries of LBLAR Overall Relational Mean

By levels of C_SEX Gender of Subject C_GPICT Gender of Boss C_A_NOT Alone or Group				
Variable	Value Label	Mean	Std Dev	Cases
For Entire Population		4.8974	1.3692	52
C_SEX	1 Female	4.8400	1.5222	25
C_GPICT	1 Female	5.0410	1.3563	13
C_A_NOT	1 Alone	4.6667	1.5818	7
C_A_NOT	2 Group	5.4778	.9937	6
C_GPICT	2 Male	4.6222	1.7173	12
C_A_NOT	1 Alone	4.4762	1.8080	7
C_A_NOT	2 Group	4.8267	1.7655	5
C_SEX	2 Male	4.9506	1.2378	27
C_GPICT	1 Female	5.2513	1.2511	13
C_A_NOT	1 Alone	5.5667	.5869	6
C_A_NOT	2 Group	4.9810	1.6306	7
C_GPICT	2 Male	4.6714	1.2021	14
C_A_NOT	1 Alone	4.4667	1.1700	9
C_A_NOT	2 Group	5.0400	1.3018	5
Total Cases = 52				

Since the author noted that the L-BLA scores for one of the four male TA's administering the tests were systematically higher than the other experimenters, the L-BLA data was analyzed a second time excluding his group from the data pool. After

the fact, in thinking about what might explain the difference in the L-BLA scores, the author observed that this particular experimenter's tone and manner when interacting with groups was softer than the others. The author checked to see if this observation interfered with the ANOVA results. It did not. Clear-cut significant F scores for the remainder of the sample (n=45) still were not found (see appendix, ANOVA 2). There were no interaction effects between gender of boss and sex of respondent in either set of pictures (depicted alone or in the group).

The L-BLA was originally chosen as the criterion measure for validation of the connection measure because the research which contributed to the creation of the inventory came from studies concerning gender stereotypes and leadership styles; and because its relational dimension was reportedly similar to connection. However, even though it supported the validity of the connection measure it wasn't as sensitive as the picture test in capturing connection. Nor did it show the same relationship or any consistent relationships to the independent variables. Further, It also didn't show any consistent patterns of relationships to the independent variables.

D. HY 1-b Separate Results

The author hypothesized that *ALL SUBJECTS ARE MORE LIKELY TO TELL "SEPARATE" STORIES ABOUT THE MALE BOSS THAN THEY ARE A FEMALE BOSS(HY 1-b)*.

Considering aggregate responses, HY 1-b, is rejected. Five of 26 subjects generated stories indicating separate for the M bosses. Three of 26 subjects generated stories

indicating separate for the F bosses (see Table 8). Overall there were few incidents of separateness to the pictures: a total of 8, compared to 35 incidents of connection.

In a closer study of the data differences in the results by sex of subject were found. While male Ss were more likely than female Ss to tell separate stories about a male boss (MA= 58% vs. 0%), there was one case of a female subject using separate themes about a female boss. In a small percentage of cases females told separate stories about the female depicted alone (FA=14%) and about the female depicted as leading a group (FG=16%). Similarly, no (zero) females used separate themes for the male alone (see Table 8). No respondents (female or male) generated stories using separate themes for the authority depicted in the group picture stimulus (MG=0%). (Based on the aggregate responses of the story data, HY1-b, is rejected.)

The strongest result was the finding that male Ss generated stories with a high incidence of separate themes for the M boss depicted alone (see Table 8a). M bosses elicited more separate story images than F bosses (5/26 vs 23/26). Male S's responding to the PIC of the male boss alone generated more separate images than all of the conditions together (see Table 8: 5/9=58%). The data set, dominated by male S's responses to the M boss alone, indicated an interaction effect among three variables: sex of respondent, gender of boss, and picture type. Based on the sex of subject, gender of the authority, and picture type portion of the story data, partial confirmation of HY 1-b is reported.

The lower incidence of female stories including separate themes may be due to the premise that females are less likely to see themselves or another as separate.

TABLE 8 SEPARATE RESPONSES BY SEX OF S

Sex of S	1/7	1/6	0/7	0/5	n=
F	14%	16%	0%	0%	25

M	1/6	0/7	5/9	0/5	27
	16%	0%	58%	0%	

Total n=52

Table 8a Separate Responses for Authority Alone by Sex of S



Sex of S

F

1/7

0/7

M

1/6

5/9
58%

E. Hostility Results

The author hypothesized that *MALE SUBJECTS ARE MORE LIKELY THAN FEMALE SUBJECTS TO DISLIKE, DISAPPROVE, AND RESPOND WITH HOSTILITY TOWARD THE WOMAN BOSS (HY 2)*.

Hostile images were reported nine times across the 52 stories (Table 9). Coders were in agreement 97% time (see Table 1). They also agreed that if the Hostile coding scheme category definition was expanded to include negative descriptions of the characters in the pictures, at least three more male stories about the female boss would have been coded for the presence of hostility.

Aggregate data indicated that male S's generated more hostile stories than female S's but they did not only direct hostility at F bosses. Six of the male respondents (n=27) used hostile or violent images in their stories. Supporting Hypothesis 2 (HY 2), four of these males wrote hostile or violent stories about the woman depicted in the picture, and two directed their hostile stories at a man depicted in the picture. One story was written about the woman alone (FA) and three of the stories were written about the woman in the group (FG). While males were more likely than females to have incidents of hostility in their stories (30% and 12% respectively) this only partially confirmed HY 2 because it was not predicted for males to tell hostile stories about male bosses. Thirty percent of the time, male subjects told hostile stories about the male boss depicted alone in the picture (see Table 9). It was not expected that female respondents would write any hostile stories but 3/25 did. One female wrote a hostile story about the man depicted alone in the picture, one female told a hostile story about the male depicted in the group, and the third female

respondent wrote a violent story about the female depicted alone in the picture (see Table 9).

Analysis of one set of the picture test portion of the data, bosses depicted with a group (see Table 9: FG PIC; MG PIC), indicated confirmation for HY 2. A female boss elicited more hostile stories from male subjects when she was depicted with a group than male Ss generated hostile stories in response to the F boss depicted with a group but not to the M boss depicted with a group.

Sex effects for authority figures depicted in the group were found. Forty percent of the males wrote hostile stories about the FG boss compared to 0% males who generated hostile stories about the M boss. While the males did not tell hostile stories about the M boss, there was one incidence of a female who generated a hostile story about a M boss.

Men used more hostile images across all pictures combined. HY 2 was supported in the analysis by the sex of respondent, gender of authority figure, and type of picture. Males were more likely than females to tell hostile, negative, or violent stories about the F boss depicted with a group. This finding is consistent with the researcher's preliminary examination (see Chapter 1) and the Pre-Test.

TABLE 9 HOSTILITY RESPONSES BY SEX OF S

Sex of S	1/7	0/6	1/7	0/6	n=
F	14%	0%	14%	0%	25

M	1/6	3/7	3/9	0/5	27
	16%	40%	33%	0%	

Total n=52

Chapter IV:

DISCUSSION

A. Constructing Leader Behavior

In order to understand the ways men and women construct leader behavior, it is necessary to first explain what "constructing leader behavior" means. Defining construction as a process begins in a complex psychological tradition referred to as "constructive-developmental" (Kegan, 1986, p.4). Kegan articulates a framework for the study of constructive-developmental psychology in the larger context of personality.

Kegan wonders what happens if the evolution of the activity of meaning is taken as the fundamental motion in personality (1986, p.15). He suggests that there is no feeling, no experience, no motive, no thought, no perception, independent of a meaning-making context. Humans are the meaning making context in which all feeling and experience is developed in which it becomes a feeling, experience, etc., because we are the meaning-making context (p.11). We are a product of how we experience and how we are experienced. Construction directs us to the activity that underlies and generates the form of thingness of a phenomena (p.13).

The idea of construction is reminiscent of Corot and his colleagues, the early impressionist painters, who created masterpieces after seeing an out-of-focus photograph for the first time. They "made meaning" out of that photograph when they perceived the shimmering shadows, and experienced the blurred distortions as a basis for the creation of wonderful new paintings. The results were two-dimensional worlds that invited the viewer to step back and then walk right in. If the impressionist artists shared a secret it

was that the reality of the shifting, shimmering brushstrokes would be different for each of us.

The impressionist artists pushed the boundaries of art with new approaches, and in that shift, made a dramatic impact on society for generations. Similar shifts are explored in the current research focus on gender and constructing leader behavior. Employees stories' about his or her private realities about leadership offers us an extraordinary opportunity. We are presented with an unusual perspective on how an employee locates himself or herself in the picture of what it means to be boss, authority, or leader.

The subjects role in this research is like that of a painter. Their projection of inner meaning led to telling stories that paint a picture of the boss/employee relationship. Projection, in this context, is defined by Atkinson (1958) and McClelland (1953) when they isolated the psychological characteristic of achievement motivation through the use of the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT). McClelland (in Atkinson, 1958, p. 555) postulated four kinds of projections--or relationships between the needs possessed by the story tellers and the needs they attribute to their story heroes. These relationships include: 1) heroes with needs like the narrator's, 2) heroes with needs opposite to the narrator's, 3) heroes with needs complementary or likely to stimulate the narrator's, and 4) heroes with needs instrumental to the narrator's (1958, p. 556).

The current research reduces the four projection possibilities to one: heroes with needs like the narrator's. Similar to Atkinson's (1958, p. 556) "Thematic Self Projection," the researcher is concerned with the fundamental technique of the relation between the

narrator and the major character in the picture. The way the story teller makes sense out of the picture is embedded in the picture he paints about the boss.

The stories include many projective statements. Projective statements are sentences that evoke (Havens, 1986, p. 97). Through these sentences the whole picture of the boss can be built. There are similarities to impressionist styles of painting. One brushstroke, or dab of color, in shadows, or contained in the brilliance of light, took on little form alone. Each feathery brushstroke evoked a strength of form that was built in combination with all of the other dynamics of art--color, light, tone, shape, line, perspective, etc. Like the artist's work the meaning of each segment of the narrator's story helps us discover the whole picture of the boss.

The picture of the boss began in this study with a qualitative look at leadership. Subjects were asked to imagine that they could tell a story about the boss in the picture. This question yielded interesting data. Stories were packed with an extraordinary range of motives and emotion. The following discussion demonstrates how connection is central to the canvas of leadership. While the projective statements mainly evoked stories containing connection, statements also included "separate" and "hostile" images. In this chapter, the "connection," "separate," and "hostile" images helps us discover the whole picture of the boss.

B. Connection Findings

Story themes illuminate the connection categories conceptualized in the coding scheme. Generally the story imagery fell into these categories: CONSIDERS OTHER/CARING; DEVOTED AND WILLING TO GET CLOSE; EMOTIONALLY

EXPRESSIVE AND ABLE TO REFLECT AND PROCESS FEELINGS OF SUBORDINATES OR GROUP; and PAYS ATTENTION TO PROMOTING SELF-ESTEEM IN SUBORDINATES.

It was particularly interesting, that regardless of the gender of the boss in the picture, connected responses were elicited. Findings did not support the hypothesis that women bosses would elicit more connection images than male bosses. However, female respondents' stories contained more connection images than male respondents. The findings are divided into two components. 1. First, connection values are not related to the gender of the boss in the picture. 2. Women use more connection themes when they tell boss stories. In each case, the coding scheme categories of CONSIDERATION/CARE; DEVOTED, WILLING TO GET CLOSE; EMOTIONALLY EXPRESSIVE; AND PROMOTES SELF-ESTEEM IN SUBORDINATES provide the focus for discussion.

1. CONNECTION FINDINGS ARE NOT RELATED TO THE GENDER OF THE BOSS IN THE PICTURE

Respondents often wrote stories about a boss who considered others in their decision-making or leadership actions. Images concerning consideration and care emerged in the narrators' discussion about both men and women bosses. This one component of connection, illustrates the CONSIDERS OTHERS/CARING category of the coding scheme. The respondent built an image of a boss who knew that the organization's success began by creating opportunities to hear other than management views. This boss is a leader who listens to and is willing to help and care for subordinates. Sentences

included words and word phrases like help, interest, and care. While images of care and helping others were typically written about the boss at work, care could extend outside of work to the family and community.

A thirty-year old female wrote a story about the male boss in the group picture. This was a story about Fred who had gathered his process engineers together to identify out of control areas where there was a need to develop new processes. A careful picture is painted about Fred who developed a step-by-step plan for successful product delivery. The connection in this story included a consideration of others. When the group "failed to interact" "meetings were scheduled by Fred" for extra help. Fred would attend all of the "meetings except for one where he would be fixing all the other woes of the Plant" and he was "really trying to help everyone out." By considering others "Fred was somehow able to manage and make it happen."

A 28 year old female wrote a similar story about the female boss in the group picture. This boss carefully outlines profit margins in the explanation for new products. She includes others in her presentation and uses the word "help" repeatedly to stress the company's view on the new products. The woman boss knows that she has the responsibility to facilitate the subordinate's understanding and listen to their views on previous situations. "I wanted to meet with you...should help us a great deal...we'll be dividing up into small groups to help us in discussion and to represent various products..." Finally the boss promotes a goal and incentive, "Some of you will be chosen to go to the big trade show." The boss, leading by considering others, concludes with an authoritative leadership command, "Let's get down to business."

Sometimes leadership images about consideration or care included an expert creation or invention designed for humanitarian purposes. Respondents recognized expert talent in both women and men. The important leadership detail was expertise combined with sharing, saving, or helping. A 25 year old male wrote about the female boss depicted in the group as senior scientist and lab leader. She was a genius and "developed a special potion" that was the focus of her presentation. "She would save the world and generations to come from the deadly disease." Another respondent, a forty-four year old male wrote about the male boss depicted in the group picture. This was a story about Harold, a former engineer who changed careers to help others using his specialty of logistics. Although now teaching at a junior college, he is pictured presenting, "to a group of future teachers how to apply his principles to the management of the elementary school classroom. He has come up with a theory that should help everyone and anyone, in any profession, how to become more efficient."

Many respondents generated stories with images of "nice" along with "caring" for the imagined boss. Resisting gender stereotypes both males and females talked about the boss who was a "great guy," "nice person," "friendly and easy-going," "well-rounded," or "fun to be around" and at the same time "knew what was going on." This was a boss whose care was not divided by gender. Both men and women were depicted as a comfortable combination of no nonsense and nice. For the narrators, these were the kinds of bosses that demonstrated leadership. The narrators openly expressed encouragement for these bosses to succeed.

A twenty-seven year old female wrote a "great guy" story about the male depicted in the group picture.

"Bob is this really great guy. He's our supervisor and right now we are in a training class. We work for a small advertising firm in downtown Boston. Bob was just promoted to group supervisor and is doing a great job at it. The first thing he did was he went to a very intensive customer satisfaction plus training class. Now he is giving us a crash course on what he learned. I think he should have been promoted a long time ago. This guy Bob really knows what's going on and he knows how to be a leader."

Perhaps the narrator recognizes that the premise for "knows how to be great leader" includes an inner comfort that influences an ability to care and share. It's not so much that this great leader happens to be a nice guy, it's that this nice, caring, guy has the ability to connect with the group. A similar response was written by a forty-four year old female who generated connection images for the female depicted alone. In her story, Marjory was a division manager for a large international company. When she explained that Marjory had presented an excellently received paper describing the way she manages, words like "success" and "excellent" were used as much to describe Marjory's work as the highlighted word "happy" was used to describe what Marjory was like. "Marjory is a HAPPY manager. Marjory has a HAPPY efficient staff. GO MARJORY."

Both men and women bosses cared in ways that extended outside of the workplace. They cared about family, dreamed of a better world, and looked forward to including a son or daughter in their business. In one example, a twenty-three year old female wrote that the male boss depicted alone as the principle of St. John's Prep. This principle was very proud of the young men at school. "We strive to for good, hard-working, athletic, giving, young men. We groom them for only the best colleges--Ivy League or nothing."

The female narrator concludes with images of the nice principle away from work. "In my private time I enjoy my lovely life and family. Soon I look forward to my son Stanely who will be able to join us at St. John's Prep."

In summary, of the CONSIDERATION OF OTHERS category, connection stories included many caring bosses. Caring bosses are unique individuals who demonstrate leadership because they know that doing their job means to listen, include, and consider others in all the tasks of leadership. Here lies one of the burdens of authority. Care does not connote a meddling, over-nurturing parent. Care for this extreme version of authority would create a dependent child. When care is entwined with leadership it is more like teaching and coaching than zealous parenting. The result appears to be a boss who has created a participative working environment where others are encouraged to initiate. This has occurred because the boss realizes that, for most groups, the subordinates will be happy and motivated when the leader enthusiastically involves them. Respondents indicate that everyone wants to be around these bosses. The following discussion continues to examine how the power of connection defines an environment for subordinate growth and evolving leadership.

The DEVOTED category emerged in stories containing images of devotion. The devoted model of the boss was developed around two themes. First, respondents wrote about devoted bosses and position level. In some of these stories the boss is turned into a teacher. The devoted boss was not defined in the context of a high level position. Story examples included phrases like, "devoted to others," and "showed devotion." The second theme included the boss who facilitated the position level of

others or self because of devotion. DEVOTED; OR WILLING TO GET CLOSE images appeared in both of these themes about a boss who was also described as dedicated. "Devoted to her boss," "Dedicated," "extreme dedication to his subordinates," illustrate. While "devotion" and "dedication" are not synonymous, it appears in these stories that devotion and dedication are used interchangeably.

Examples illustrate the context of position level. Sometimes the boss was turned into a teacher or manager who "instructed" others. A twenty-three year old female told the story about the woman boss depicted alone as one of "not enough dedicated teachers" because of "low pay." The respondent makes the point that the people who could teach the 6, 7, and 8th graders best are not available because they have chosen higher positions that "actually pay." In a similar example, a thirty-three year old male uses "close" and able to create a "close and comfortable" atmosphere about the male boss who is "instructing." In this example, the narrator clearly states the boss's position level: "...people look like co-workers or peers...does not look like a high level meeting so the boss is probably a front line manager."

"His devotion to others...promotion he deserved;" and "Jane is CEO at AT&T...she has worked her way up the corporate ladder because of hard work and dedication" are statements from two stories illustrating the second context. These images illustrate the context where dedication is rewarded and the devoted boss achieved promotion. Sometimes the story images suggested that the devoted boss facilitated the role of a senior executive. In other examples, devotion resulted in a promotion for the self. A twenty-four year old female wrote about the woman boss depicted alone:

"My name is Sylvia Trenton. I am the Executive Liaison for the Lieutenant Governor for Paul Celucci. My responsibilities include prioritizing all the L.G.'s appointments and meetings as well as researching current issues being debated in the current session of state congress. I have worked for several governors and lieutenant governors, including Michael Dukakis. During the 1988 presidential campaign I was Governor Dukakis's personal assistant and press liaison. I have truly enjoyed my career in politics and had a deep devotion for my home state of MA. I am currently 54 years of age and I am considering retiring in two years. At the same time I would like to devote my time to volunteer activities for the elderly and mentally ill."

The stories suggested that devoted bosses are willing to get close both in work and outside. When images in respondents' stories about the boss indicated that it was not a high level meeting, like the front-line manager, or the job was low paying in the teacher example, valued qualities of leadership appear to replace power with kinship or care.

The not-so-typical story was indicated when devotion and hard work resulted in promotion, as in Jane's case, to a CEO position. It was as if the respondent ascribed a science fiction, super human quality to her. She was a unique other world possibility.

Sylvia was no less talented but not so unique. There were more than a few Sylvia's. Several women produced stories with the powerful undertone of care for boss. She managed multilevels of work, and was a dedicated, devoted and talented leader. She facilitated the power of someone else--by self-less caring for her boss, in this case, the governor. She was also a dedicated daughter and mother, a caretaker who found time to volunteer.

In summary, the DEVOTED boss's are described as unusually competent, hard-working, and dedicated leaders. It appears that "dedication" is a code word for devotion. In the writers' stories we hear about a generosity of leadership spirit that

mirrors dedication to the workplace with community volunteering. Sometimes the devoted bosses demonstrated loyalty to the workplace and sometimes the devoted boss helped others to succeed. In some cases the devotion rewards came from giving "110%." Although bosses of either gender were described as devoted, there were more stories about devoted women bosses. Perhaps devotion as evidence of connection is grounded in empathy and believing in others.

EMOTIONALLY EXPRESSIVE bosses are leaders of process. Respondents articulated stories that emphasized a central connection ingredient of insightful understanding and emotional awareness. In some cases the leader was empathetic and aware of feelings, even anxiety, with subordinates. In these cases it would appear that the boss behaves as a connected knower and leader when he begins with an interest about the facts of other people's workplace lives, but then shifts his focus to other people's ways of thinking (Belenky and others, 1986, p. 115). For the respondents, this procedure takes the concept of care into the harsh reality of the subordinate's workplace where task demands are great and poor performance evaluations, for example, could result in job loss.

Respondents suggest that sensitivity is a necessary ingredient for connection to co-exist with leadership. One story provides a striking example for the absence of emotional connection. A thirty-two year old female wrote a about the male depicted alone, a Corporate CEO for an automobile manufacturer, with statements indicating the absence of connection: "...probably married with a daughter he spoils and a son who dislikes him. I doubt that he has much real concern for his employees...or their lives and problems." The absence of connection in this story includes the dichotomy of negative stereotyping for the

male CEO who is so limited that he is equipped with a bi-polar measuring device for connection. His response is either too much--he spoils the daughter or it's not enough--his son dislikes him. Does the narrator offer a family metaphor for mixed-sex interactions between the boss and subordinates in the workplace?

This CEO story was unique in the absence of connection. Most respondents used emotionally expressive and responsive connection detail with phrases like, "Jane feels input from her people is an important tool, involvement of her people...keep the group focused during this stressful time;" and "he reduces the tension;" and "knows how to keep them calm."

A 30 year old male wrote an extensive discussion about the boss depicted alone, who had just called you, the subordinate, into the office for the annual performance review:

"...he appears calm and perhaps happy at first glance. Rather than sitting behind the desk he comes forward and sits on his desk directly in front of you as if to reduce the tension in the room and give a more personal appearance. He begins to speak in a calm voice, continuously smiling...It is obvious from all outward indication that he has good things to say. He gives a very positive review, highlighting the very positive, and calmly mentioning, where improvements are needed."

What is most striking about this male boss was the writers' attention to feeling and emotional process. In the performance appraisal story we hear about a boss who is aware of the anxiety-provoking situation of an evaluation. Leadership here is carefully constructed around the demands for a guide and nurturer. The writer said it clearly, "...he reduces the tension...uses a calm voice..." The boss in this story may have learned how to adopt his sensitive view of the subordinate through explicit formal instruction. The writer indicated otherwise. Rather than using separate images in his descriptions of the boss, he

painted a picture of the boss as a connected knower who learned through empathy (Belenky and others, 1986, p.115). The story generated images here that are similar to the Consideration and Care category of connection. The leader is a successful teacher who underlined strengths and encouraged improvement.

Emotionally expressive bosses were both technically competent and capable of paying attention to the feelings of subordinates. For these bosses, feelings illuminate thought (Belenky and others, 1986). Stressful moments were monitored carefully. In an effort to keep stressful responses within a tolerable range, connected bosses adapted their feelings and the feelings of others with care. They knew that total avoidance of anxiety in the group denied important issues. Yet they were cautious about creating forums in the group for emotionally charged responses that were too-stressful and distracted from a leadership purpose.

In the final category of connection respondents wrote stories that indicated a boss was a leader who could promote self esteem in subordinates.

PROMOTES SELF ESTEEM images were evident in male and female stories.

Respondents described a boss who "made us feel good" and "informed us that we were the best ones to work on the new product design," and "proud of us and our service."

2. WOMEN USE MORE CONNECTION THEMES THAN MEN WHEN THEY TELL BOSS STORIES

There were three ways that women's stories about bosses were more rooted in connection themes than men's stories. This pattern was generally constant across all pictures. The female respondents' examples of connection as a leadership metaphor

included variations on the following three themes: a. the boss had an ability to be close or devoted, b. to demonstrate a facility for process in collaboration or team work, and finally, c. the boss enjoyed vicarious leadership rewards from a subordinate's success. While all of these connection images were described in a presentation of the boss's strength and appeal, the researcher noted an interesting trend. Often, when females generated a story with connection images about the woman boss; at the end the narrator suggested a reason for undermining the leader's strength and appeal.

a. Close or Devoted

Sometimes close was about proximity. Stories included "he stood close to the group," "she was informal and close by." Sometimes it was to show that the leader could care and help. "You could tell she wanted to help because she was close to the group," and "he tried to be nearby, close and available for help," illustrate.

Stories included themes like, "extreme devotion to others at work". Close might extend outside of work and refer to home and family. "Close to her family" or "he was close to his wife and family" or "she worked there so she could be close to home and a sick mother" or "devoted to family" are examples.

In a 28 year old female's story about the boss in the FG (Female depicted with a group) picture, the writer wrote in the first person, and suggested encouragement and help in building teams:

"We are trying to reach this profit margin...and should
HELP US a great deal. ...I wanted to meet with you to
discuss the company's views and how they..."

In another story, a 49 year old female's story was about the boss as CEO in a company formed by his father in the in the picture of the male depicted alone:

"Jim Peters is a 57 year old CEO in a company...that is now a Fortune 500. He is seen by his peers to be understanding, thoughtful, in his dealings with company personnel and a dedicated family man."

Both stories contain women respondents' projections about a boss who was not impersonal. Her private reality of feelings and personal beliefs were included (Belenky, 1986, p. 109). These women told a story about a leader who facilitated connections.

Like the woman boss who helped her subordinates by creating an optimal environment for productivity through team-building, members of connected knowing groups engage in collaborative explorations (1986, p. 119). As CEO, Jim Peter's actions are bounded by devotion and dedication that extend outside of the workplace to the family.

b. Expression of Emotion and Attention to Process

Female respondents paid careful attention to process. They wrote stories with images concerned with awareness of feelings, expression of discomfort or tension, maintaining or restoring comfort; in the overall picture attention to process was recognized for the good of the team, collaboration, and productivity.

Including others and seeking input are images of the connected boss. One story example was written by a 31 year-old female about the male boss depicted with the group:

"The boss is having an informal get together with his staff reporting what happened last quarter. He will be asking for inputs from is staff regarding how the report look and if any changes should be done. He will also ask for what they feel their next plan should be."

In an interesting, somewhat fairy-tale combination of a woman recognized as "good" and "happy" and "successful," a 44 year old female's story generated connection images when she, the writer, encouraged the boss in the FA PIC:

"This is Marjory S., manager of a small division in a large international company. She has just completed a 24 day conference on the Role of Managers and Their Support Staff. Major presented an excellently received paper describing the way in which she manages her division...Major is pleased that many colleagues have requested interviews with her to discuss her successful methods. Major has brought some of her staff to HELP in this process. Major is a HAPPY manager. Major has a HAPPY, efficient staff. GO MAJORY."

c. Vicarious rewards for subordinate's success

Women wrote stories about a boss who specifically promotes self-esteem, and provides goals and rewards. Story themes suggested that a boss "sets goals and rewards" and "promotes others sense of self worth." A 52 year old female wrote about the male boss, entrepreneur and CEO of a very successful software company:

"...I'm the VP of finance in the company, having been with it since the days Joe started selling his game from his attic office. We see Joe posing here for his picture on Time magazine for man of the year. After the photo shoot, Joe and all of his senior executives are leaving on an all expense paid trip to Bali for a week. Joe felt that this was so crucial to his receiving the award that he wanted to reward us all. He is paying for this trip out of his own pocket."

Joe is described as an authority who gives the work and the rewards back to the people in the company. He uses his prestigious award as an opportunity to teach company members that good things happen to those that do good work. He promotes others self-esteem, and therefore promotes himself and leadership when he generously shares his award with everyone on a well-deserved trip.

For all three connection themes (stories with the boss devoted or close, a boss with the facility for process, collaboration, encouragement of teamwork, and the boss who enjoyed vicarious leadership rewards for a subordinate's success) women's stories did have the tendency to end with statements that undermined the female boss's appeal. These stories described a talented and expert boss but then ended with limiting images, "but she decided not to pursue the higher status position" or "she took the position in a company located closer to her aging mother." Female respondents who generated stories that revolved around images of the woman boss's strength and appeal ended with damaging qualifying statements that appeared to demonstrate one of two things: 1) discomfort with power that was reflected in lower level or low paying positions, or 2) difficulty severing family ties and connections with the past.

It appeared that these women bosses were too connected. They were depicted as uncomfortable with power or incapable of severing ties appropriately.

A 23 year old female wrote about a sacrificing, woman administrator and teacher in a junior high school who received vicarious leadership rewards from helping students:

"(My job) is not only challenging, but also rewarding. I like to think that I have made a difference in some of these students' reading, writing, and speaking abilities. There are just not enough DEDICATED teachers like myself, because of the pay...they need to be taught enthusiasm. The people that could probably HELP them learn have chosen other professions that pay. But that is not what is important to me. My pay off is HELPING these kids on to high school, which is where having good educational habits becomes most important."

Other women's stories contained the dilemma that Belenky and others (1986, p. 77) reminded us was central to Gilligan's work--women are drawn to the role of caretaker.

Images of women as giver, nurturer, putting her needs last were found in the stories about the female boss. While it was not an absolute that these family-oriented images were missing from their stories about male leaders, they appeared to be a different quality in the discussion. Compatible with Belenky (1986, p. 76) women were cautious and recognized that it took great courage to sever connections from family and past.

A 58 year old female's story about the FA succinctly illustrated the family connection:

"I am a person that has been in the professional para-legal field for the past fifteen years. I am single and AT HOME where I CARE for an aging mother."

One 23 year old story mirrored the close to home theme for the FG:

"She is in her mid 40's. Her title is Regional Training Manager. In this picture she is conducting a new product training course for the staff...held this position for 7 years, with an annual salary of \$63,000. Prior to that she was in field sales, but as she grew older decided to find a position that would provide more stability and allow her to remain CLOSER TO HOME."

C. SEPARATE THEMES

Separate themes were written more by the men about the male boss. The images written by the males reflected stereotypes and norms for interweaving "manliness" and boss. The result was a manager with such a tight-hold on the rules of the organization, that there was a perceived danger of violation. Leaders did not emerge in these stories. Findings suggest that there was a significant difference in the separate images between male and female respondents for the male depicted alone.

Separate knowers are tough-minded; they assume that everyone, including themselves, might be wrong (Belenky and others, 1986, p. 104). Separate story imagery generally fell

into the following categories: CONSIDERED THE SELF; CONSIDERED HOW THE DECISION WAS JUSTIFIED; CONSIDERED WHETHER VALUES OR PRINCIPLES OR RULES WERE MAINTAINED; DOES NOT PAY ATTENTION TO FEELINGS OR PROCESS OF THE GROUP.

Consider a 28 year old male with 7 years of professional experience. He described the tough-minded boss in the male alone picture and wrote a key phrase in capital letters:

"...confident, organized, leader who commands respect, RUNS a TIGHT SHIP."

The tough minded boss justifies a decision because he follows some pre-conceived ideal of authority.

Now consider a 27 year old male's story about the same boss. Instead of identifying with any "separate" leadership traits he wrote a bizarre tale:

"I see a stressed ridden middle aged homosexual who is trying to hide in a heterosexual world. The man has a nervous smile which leads me to believe that he is unhappy with his life of illusion. His dress shows me that he is another sheep that conforms to corporate America. I see a man that is not progressing professionally so he works harder and longer but still comes up on the short end to younger executives."

In the first separate story, the narrator wrote about a separate boss who runs a tight ship. He suggested that such a tough-minded approach commanded leadership respect. In contrast, the second story teller wrote about the negative results of playing by the rules. Sexual imagery here suggests other than separate themes. However, the narrator paints a strong separate picture when he wrote about, "another sheep that conforms to corporate America." Perhaps research in the field of the psychology of men is helpful in understanding this story. Connell and Kimmel (cited in Levant, 1992, p. 381) assumed

that people have an inner psychological need to have a gender identity, and that the extent to which this inherent need is met is determined by how completely they embrace their traditional gender role. Development is a failure-prone process. Perhaps the narrator's projection themes are about fears of failure for the man in his story. His story might also be explained by the literature that suggested a man unable to achieve a masculine gender role identity was thought to result in homosexuality (Ibid.1992, p. 381).

Separate story images suggest that the male authority stirs powerfully mixed feelings for the male respondent. Perhaps he knew from disappointing experience that it is difficult to distinguish an already vulnerable masculine identity from an authority role.

Other separate images were evident when a respondent identified the male boss as incapable of paying attention to feelings and process. The following example illustrates.

One narrator wrote a story about a boss who is removed and separate from the emotional process of reprimanding a subordinate for a job done incorrectly.

The images are about an authority who defends himself against the interpersonal with a deliberate non-emotional distance. The 37 year old male wrote:

"The person in the picture is a boss who is getting ready to chastise an employee for not doing his job properly. He has a smile on his face and speaks very softly and slowly. He never raises his voice or changes his tone, however he makes it perfectly clear that he is unhappy with his employee's performance. I don't understand how he can react so calm and show no signs of how upset he really is."

Separate knowing is especially aroused in situations where a subordinate is expected to fulfill authority standards. Belenky and others (1986, p. 107) suggest that under such conditions separate knowers make themselves open to criticism. Since they believe that

authority is nonarbitrary, and rests on reason rather than power and status (p. 108), there is no room for the interpersonal, no opportunity for expression of feelings. The fascinating thematic projection in this story appears to be about the separate need relation between narrator and boss character in the story. Does the narrator wonder how he personally justifies not expressing strong emotions in the authority/subordinate relationship?

The following story is a particularly revealing example of both separate and connection imagery. The narrator, a 31 year old male, wrote about ambivalent employee responses to the leader's role in training (MA picture):

"The gentleman in this picture is the Plant Manager of a small corporation with several facilities. His company has gone through downsizing due to a decreasing sales in his product. He semi annually produces video-tapes(in which this picture is taken) to send to each facility to inform the people on company status and to hopefully improve morale. People's inputs are given to the Plant Manager based on discussions after viewing. The employees feel positive about management's attempt to keep them informed and involved. However, the impersonal process that was taken has had little effect on increasing morale."

D. HOSTILE THEMES

1. MEN TELL MORE HOSTILE STORIES ABOUT THE BOSS

Hostile themes generated by the narrators provided evidence of the authority as the adversary. The central question was whether or not hostility stories were more likely to be written by the males about the woman bosses. While there were no significant differences found in hostility stories for female and male respondents, males generated more hostile stories than females. Men wrote aggressive images like, "...I'd like to see her

get fired," or "...he may not be smiling too long." Images were negative and sometimes inferred violence: "I'll show her what pain feels like..." "She held a shaft meeting."

Although men's hostile images were not only directed at female authority pictures, a trend of hostility toward the female boss was recognized in the male stories. The apparent sex and hostility effects on authority, suggest a gender impact on the construction of anger. It is therefore necessary to first discuss how anger is constructed.

Hostility, anger, and violence, although impulses experienced by both sexes, are more typically attributed to males than to females. Defining the role of anger in an individual's private reality is no easy task. As Jean Baker Miller (1991) understands it, there are three assertions in the definition of inner constructions of anger--or aggression, violence, and hatred. First, she suggests that we suffer constraints that prevent us from expressing and even from knowing we are experiencing anger. For members of each sex these constraints have different meanings. Second, while expression is constrained we live in an environment that produces anger. For both sexes this occurs on both the society level and during psychological development, but differently for each. Third, she underlines that one sex has differentially been encouraged in the expression of anger. And the very conditions that produce so much anger grow out of a reality where the expression of anger is predominant in one sex only (p. 181).

Anger may be defined as an emotion that can be expressed in nonverbal and verbal ways. Quite simply, it tells us that something is wrong, something hurts, and needs changing. Therefore, anger provides a powerful recognition of discomfort. Then it sets in

motion motivation for action to bring change or alleviation of conditions that are perceived to be anger-inducing (Miller, 1991, p. 188).

The possibilities for experiencing anger, knowing it when we feel it, and healthy expression presents different problems for men and women. For men, problems begin in the traditional hierarchical structure of culture and end in the evidence for similar patterning in psychological development. Most affected here are the intimate relationships between fathers and sons. Research indicates that the young boy, replicating the pattern of society, is not permitted to directly express his anger to the father, leader of the family. At the same time, he is encouraged to be aggressive, fight-back, fear being "beaten-out" by another, or worse be like a girl (Ibid. p. 189).

Miller cites some questionable and troublesome evidence that fathers encouraged boys' aggressive actions and even provoked hostility in them (Block, 1978 and Gleason, 1975 in Miller, 1991, p. 189). If anger and hostility were provoked in boys by their fathers, and then these young children were punished for it by the very same fathers, complex ramifications would exist. The one that is relevant for the current research concerns developmental observations that growing up male with an emotionally absent father might explain hostility in men (Kegan, 1982; Maccoby, 1975; Osherson, 1986; Levant, 1992). The quest for a father figure in dealing with authority is reported to be a uniquely painful experience for men (Osherson, 1986, p. 52). Men have been so disappointed by their father figures that they carry around within themselves an angry or judgmental father (1986, p. 40). As a result, they imagine male authorities as easily provoked to wrath, and basically wrathful or violent. According to Osherson, the angry father theme reflects the

tension between fathers and sons growing up, the way that they are rivals to each other, with little opportunity to heal their connection (1986, p.40). While Osherson's theory alone does not explain this researcher's findings about conditions when male hostility is specifically directed at a woman in authority, or when female hostility is directed at either gender authority, it may explain the fact that male subjects generated more hostile stories than female subjects. Stories illustrate.

A 28 year old male wrote about the boss in the MA picture with implied hostility:

"This person is the acting CEO of his particular organization. He was promoted to "Acting CEO" when the previous management team was fired for lack of production and unhappy stockholders. He may not be smiling too long."

The hostility generated by the males in the stories, similar to the CEO, demonstrated how a narrator identified with the story hero. A multitude of feelings were translated into aggressive action. When these stories were specifically about male bosses two patterns emerged. One context concerned aggressive action taken out on other than the real source--the father. Here, the adult remembers the hurt and humiliated boy within who was never encouraged to express his sometimes angry feelings to his father. Instead he was rewarded by Dad for turning extreme emotion into aggressive actions (Miller, 1991, p. 190). For these men hostility is humiliation remembered forever.

In the second context, males generated hostile stories about other men in the service of proving one-up manship. Anger and aggression is deflected when it is channelled into organized game-playing (Miller citing Gilligan, 1991, p. 191). If males learned to play by the rules of organized games then hitting, hurting, and beating another male constitutes both winning and hostility.

When the men wrote hostile stories about men it appeared to be in response to perceived danger. Some man was in their way. For the few women's hostile stories, in paradox, aggression was the only action for success. When a woman wrote a hostile boss story she was the subordinate and aggressive action was the only avenue to position power.

Consider the 28 year old female who wrote about the female boss depicted alone. The respondent boasted about the cleverly planned and perfect murder:

"The self-satisfied smile of a job well done. That's how Helena perceived the death of her boss, Dalton Smythe. It was efficient, untraceable and...completed. He'd thought to run her out of the company. Oh, he was all polite smiles and supposed confidences but she knew better. She knew his reputation. It had traveled with him from corporation to corporation. He kept a neat house. And he cleaned it often. She had planned her offensive. She'd brainwashed the postman, a la The Manchurian Candidate. It was easy, they were so volatile. He'd delivered the package with the expected results. It had read, "Marquis de La Fayette;s Historical Miniatures." There had been 7 cavalry men, 5 foot soldiers, and 2 lieutenants. A gift from a happy client for the tabled display in his office. He had been delighted. He'd spoken of it at the morning meeting. She had feigned interest. At noon, the time he always had his first and last cigar of the day, the assault was launched. The foot soldiers had split into 2 flanks, a lieutenant heading up each and the cavalry had charged. By the time the last stroke of 12 had sounded, they had all fired their weapons. He was found dead in his chair, the expression on his face a mixture of wonder at the realistic craftsmanship and the dawning horror of true comprehension.

She had just been named interim CEO. They'd make it permanent. She was sure. They'd taken this picture of her for the new stock portfolio. When the photographer told her how well she was holding up she replied that she was "smiling through the pain. It's what Dalton would have wanted."

The respondent's relation to the heroine in her story includes murder in the surprising equation for corporate leadership. She drives out her opposition by destroying him. Does the story teller identify with the woman boss who single-handedly masterminds the murder

of the male boss to make room for her succession as CEO? To act in ones own interest, as a woman, is the psychic equivalent for aggressive and destructive (Miller, 1991, p.202).

Miller (1991) suggests an explanation for the violent example that is evidence of female anger in the story. Miller claims that any subordinate is in a position that constantly generates anger. The dilemma is that this is one of the emotions that no dominant group ever wants to allow in subordinates. Although women are the ones that know the threats of physical violence, they are generally made to believe that they have no cause for anger. More confusing, if women feel anything like anger they are made to think that there is something wrong with them--they are sick or maladjusted (1991, p.183). Miller indicates that the specific psychological dimensions of a woman's identity and constitution explain the dilemma. She should be a person who is almost totally without anger or the need for anger (p.184). Thus the workplace is stunned by or has little tolerance for the hostility images in the female murder story.

2. MEN TELL HOSTILE STORIES ABOUT THE WOMAN BOSS DEPICTED WITH A GROUP

When the woman boss was depicted with a group, males wrote stories built around a pattern of hostility that seemed directed by the mixed-sex interaction of the group. The pattern in these stories suggested that the aggressive male images were due to hostility guided by confused anger. They expected someone or something else. The narrators wrote stories with images that suggested disappointment and fear in their response to the female boss in the mixed-sex group. In the ongoing story interactions, he is angry with the

female boss, he fears that her position of authority diminishes his identity, so he acts out aggressively, perhaps even violently. She can never hurt him again (Miller, 1991, p.190).

A 29 year old male indicated hostile wishes toward the Female boss depicted with a group and used an interesting typo twist on her name, "Gail" :

"Jail is sporting a very fake smile right now. She is my manager and she and I don't get along at all, Her smile is so fake it MAKES ME SICK. She will do anything to get ahead. She doesn't care who she has to walk over to get it done either. She has BACKSTABBED ME one to many times. I would love TO DIG UP SOME DIRT ON HER THAT WOULD PUT HER IN THE DOGHOUSE. She is currently pulling some strings to get our regional manager's son into a private college. So if she pulls it off she will look like the cat's meow in his eyes. I CAN'T STAND JAIL, I WISH THERE WAS SOMETHING I COULD DO TO GET HER FIRED."

A summary of hostile themes in the boss stories suggests that there is a dichotomy of gender responses to the authority. These differences are contained in story images around three themes. First, men write more hostile stories, which possibly reflects a deeply rooted humiliation. They get angry at the boss and challenge with some form of action. Second, when women tell hostile stories it's less for self-preservation than it is for success. If women do not grow tearful with anger, if they do not turn anger inward, then they are considered selfish and destructive (Miller, 1991, p.187). Finally, mixed-sex interactions around the woman boss presents an especially confusing picture for male narrators. Suddenly the woman changes from the soothing non-threatening being of comfort and care into a confusing and powerful force that combines the unmentionable: sexuality and anger.

E. Final Note

The questions raised in this study center around the connected, separate, and hostile picture images. It is therefore important to note here that cross-validity was established with the L-BLA and that there was strong coder agreement for all three coding schemes. The coders for the research utilized a presence/absence scale in the story coding. It would appear at first glance that another research methodology, one that determined degrees of connection, separate, or hostile, would provide a more sensitive measure. I firmly believe that connected or separate ways of leading are not a matter of degree. The imaginary boss was either connected or not; separate or not, hostile or not. It would be interesting to go back and refine the coding categories. Future research might benefit from an expanded coding scheme that reflected connected, separate, or hostile leading.

Chapter V:

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This research is a product of my teaching in the mostly male world of engineering where I have observed evidence of sex differences in student response. Experience taught me that men students were more likely than women to appear confused, get distracted, and even behave with hostility in my classes of both pre-dominantly male and mixed-sex groups. Conversations with women professors at other universities, and women managers across regions of the United States convinced me that I was not alone. They were secretly experiencing the same reaction that I was. The result of all this thinking and observing was a preliminary investigation leading to this research, "Gender and Leadership: Men and Womens' Stories."

I was convinced that these male students' response was based on how they experienced their hopes, fears, disappointments, and expectations of me (as a woman) in the authority role. I began to formulate a way of explaining their behavior, based in part on gender theory, and in part on traditional norms for leadership. Perhaps I speculated, their images of female gender and authority role were in conflict, when faced with anything other than the traditional male authority.

The thinking that guided this research used the notion of connected versus separate knowing as the key to how individuals construct their understanding of authority and leadership. It was through those lenses that this study was conceived. Previous studies (Gilligan, 1982; Lyons, 1982; Belenky and others, 1986; Miller, 1986) had developed

gender theory, especially the associations between women and connection, and men and separate but none of these involved leadership. Through this study I decided to look at gender and leadership, using the connected versus separate lens.

The present study indicates that gender is indeed a salient ingredient in understanding leadership. The following four statements summarize the findings:

- Gender Is An Influence In How Leadership Is Defined.
- Connection Is Central To Male And Female Leadership Images For Employees Of Both Sexes.
- Separate Leading Is A Male Image, Mainly Applied To The Male Boss.
- More "Hostile Boss" Stories Are Written By Men Than By Women.

1. **GENDER is an influence in how leadership is defined.**

The sex of the respondent and the gender of the boss have an impact on the definition of leadership. Family and developmental theory suggests that females choose careers consistent with family background and relationships with their father. Encouraged to fill the "good daughter" role, women are often dismissed from formal authority possibilities. Nadelson's (1990) research indicates that the gender influence on authority begins in adolescence. In teenage girls competitiveness and ambition are often seen as threats to both an evolving sense of femininity and as impediments to relationships with men. Since both competitiveness and ambition are characteristic of authority and leadership, young women often choose to behave in ways that they perceive as more popular and polite. Current studies support the notion that "good daughter" and "authority" do not belong together (Jordan and others, 1991).

Since the workplace includes men and women, a frustrating dilemma occurs. The culture of the workplace may be defined by gender values that are so deeply embedded that they are not perceptible (Schein, 1986; Nadelson, 1990; Heifitz, 1994).

The most productive organizations are guided by leaders that manage without the old model of "heroic" leaders. They are aware that adults need to be treated like adults not like adolescents. What future problems can be avoided by recognizing that some leaders encourage or support the "teenage daughter" role from women? If women are limited by workplace restraints, they are denied a place in the picture of leadership. An organization that is not internally integrated with the values of a diverse workforce will be incapable of external adaptation (Schein, 1986; Rosener, 1991).

2. CONNECTION is central to male and female leadership images for employees of both sexes.

The meaning of the connection findings are contained in the stories about the boss as "authority" or "leader." Women and men tell stories about a different kind of a boss, a new model of authority, and an evolving theory of leadership that is not gender specific. We stipulated that a connected boss cares, is capable of close interactions, expressive and gifted in process issues, facilitates collaboration, and promotes self esteem in others. As a result the connected boss is capable of harvesting other leadership.

Not all feminist theorists think alike. Most favor findings of no gender differences or small differences (Eagly, 1995, p.149). While Gilligan (1982) takes the opposite position when she theorized about large fundamental differences (in moral reasoning), this research

indicates that there are small gender differences in the numbers of connected boss stories. Men and women generated connected leader stories, and men and women emerged as connected leaders. Tapping into their private realities about an authority suggests that leadership does not occur in isolation but in men and women's relation to each other.

Inherent in a relational model for leadership is the way connected leading emerges. In this context, you can have too much of a good thing. Some stories depicted a troublesome result when women had difficulty severing ties or were over-attached. The "too connected" boss misleads and may foster overly dependent relationships with the group. Consequently, she was not likely to harvest leadership in others.

Shifting away from a flexible adult form of a relationship, too much connection reverts back to early definitions of the mother-child relationship (Jordan, 1991, p.63). In this vision of connection the authority was a woman who sacrificed herself for others, and was over-involved at work. Are women prone to erasing the self? Women are most comfortable in a world of work where they are not limiting but enhancing the power of others while simultaneously increasing their own power (Miller, 1991). Many of us have mixed feelings about authority (Heifetz, 1994). Connected images for the authority, however, define power differently than how history has defined and created power. Promising possibilities exist here for developing a perspective about leadership, women, and interactions at work.

When the boss is constructed as close and devoted, sensitive to emotional process, she gives the work back to the group. It would be fascinating for future research to consider how leaders mobilize people to tackle tough work problems (Heifetz, 1994)

through the connected practice of including others. Does connected authority present a welcome diversion for troubled organizations that are "over managed" and "under-led" (Kotter, 1991)?

3. SEPARATE leading is a male image, mainly applied to the male boss.

Separate authority is defined by detachment and distance. Their procedure for knowing is based on "objectivity" and having the right answers (Belenky and others, 1986). Questions for future research appears to be clearly defined by the principles of separate authority and the resulting limitations on leadership. Why is separate authority perceived as less adaptive than connected authority? Will the separate authority manage others by providing answers, while the connected authority creates an optimally motivating atmosphere? If so, separate authority is reminiscent of traditional Theory X assumptions about people and work--people need to be told what to do; and connected authority is similar to emerging Theory Y assumptions that people are mobilized by a motivating climate (McGregor, 1961).

Developmental theory takes another approach and offers an early childhood perspective. Most little girls don't want to play with most little boys. Little boys are detached and ignore girls in play (Maccoby, 1974). What happens to the girls that don't fit into the "most" category? Do they develop into women who are especially adaptive at senior authority levels? Why are there so few separate images in women's stories? Are they incapable of it or are they ignoring separate authority images?

4. More HOSTILE BOSS stories are written by men than by women.

The first questions for future research concern methodology. The author is not convinced that there are significant differences in the current research's hostility findings with the preliminary examination and the pre-test. At first glance both previous tests produced somewhat higher hostile responses by males to the woman boss. And, there was absolutely no evidence of female hostility. In the first, the preliminary examination, perhaps the female sample size was too small to garner a representative female response. Further, the academic setting and fears about performance, may have contributed to what was perceived as a "hostile" atmosphere for the male subjects. This may have produced angry or aggressive responses. The preliminary examination included both female and male test administrators. In contrast, the pre-test and the final research utilized only male test administrators. Since the real life setting of the workplace includes males and females in positions of authority, further research needs to consider enlarging the sample size to include both female and male test administrators. Finally, for the purpose of completing a reasonable sample size less than eight of the fifty-two respondents, of each gender, narrated stories for the four pictures. Most of previous test hostility stories were written by the males about the woman depicted with the group. Only seven of the 52 respondents in the sample were males who responded to the female depicted with the group. It would appear that increasing the number of responses to that picture would produce proportionally higher hostility responses.

Since the relationship between connected and separate knowers is adversarial (Belenky and others, 1986), future research might consider the link between separate

authority and hostility. This research would be particularly intriguing if the focus was on mixed-sex interactions. What are the theoretical implications for women in authority positions if hostility in men's stories is reflective of the mixed gender and the affiliative quality of the group (Pollak, 1983)?

Research indicates that men weren't happy when women acted assertive in communication. The men were not willing to be persuaded by her and said that they disliked her (Carli, 1991). The conception of a women's role suggests interesting questions. There are transferential aspects of the role of women (Kanter, 1977). One dramatic organizational example illuminates. Tavistock-type group were experiences held at a university undergoing turmoil as a result of an initiative by women to gain greater access to positions of power and authority. The consultants found significant and pervasive behavioral differences depending on the gender of the group leader. In female led groups, men described feelings of loss of control because their ability to function "as males" was hampered, they expressed relief and a "return to normalcy" when they were able to join male led groups. Initially women in female-led groups were assertive, instrumental, and task-oriented. However, over time their assertiveness and identification with their leader dwindled, and they began to vie for male attention in traditional ways. Women who refused to relinquish their assertive roles received the majority of male and female anger. Groups with male leaders reported traditional sex-role patterns of behavior in both men and women (Mayes, 1979). There are similarities to the current research findings. In the light of the hostility images in authority pictures, it would be useful to explore angry responses further. Is group projective-identification a powerful influence on

hostile responses to the woman authority? When is connected leading or the absence of connected leading resulting in hostile responses? Why are the men's responses more hostile than the women's responses?

Anger and authority sets up different kinds of problems for men and women. For men, the deflection of anger along with the stimulation of the workplace--encouraging dominant males to be aggressive to colleagues and subordinates--is the problem. For women, the problem is the situation of subordination that produces anger--along with a society and workplace's intolerance of women's expression of anger of any kind (Miller, 1991, p. 193).

In conclusion, there are three major themes that flow from these findings.

1. Gender as a variable ought to be included in research designs and methodologies for the study of leadership. This dissertation points both to the complexity of understanding gender differences and to the necessity for a methodology that taps into an affective dimension. The projective methodology used here provided an opportunity to capture feelings and emotions not likely to be recorded otherwise. It was therefore possible to investigate authority more deeply than usual.
2. Current psychological theories of identity development include connected and separate ways of knowing. Concern for care and attachment (or what is referred to as connection), and differentiation and emotional disconnection (or what is referred to as separate), may be distinct understandings that can be developed in early relationships with significant others in childhood, but are understandings found in adults and for both sexes. This much has been well-stated by previous research, but it has not taken the connected/separate

meaning specifically into adulthood applications, especially the ways males and females construct authority. Subordinates and followers, in boss-employee interactions may need to take this into consideration because of these very different meanings of authority images. Similarly, the same point applies to students in relation to teachers. Individuals in all positions of authority, whether they are in industrial or academic organizations, need to consider these implications because of how the different images define the tasks, successes and conflicts of leading.

Images of connection were used by both male and female respondents, although used more frequently by women, and they were elicited for both female and male authority figures. The images suggest a construct of leadership that is not absolutely tilted toward the traditional male-model of differentiation and separation, and in fact, includes themes of connection for both sexes.

3. Current prescriptive models of leadership take into account that authorities use different adaptive measures and consider the emotional readiness of the followers. These approaches have not been previously attached to connected versus separate ways of knowing.

The connected leader cares, includes others by giving opportunities and work back to the group, pays attention to process, and promotes self-esteem. Separate authority is detached and distant and based on relevant expertise. Since connected leading is a large part of what works and what subordinates are wishing for, further investigation is necessary to determine why more managers have not actually adopted a connected approach.

It may be useful to examine organizational norms that reinforce and encourage separate authority. Are separate themes more likely to define the male boss as viewed by the men because most managers are male, working in systems where the organizational norms carry-over from an archaic history? This constitutes a traditional authority model. The separate boss is most effective in coping with technical problems. He is critical, invested in proving what is wrong or right, and adhering to the rules of higher-ups. Although competent, he could hardly be considered a leader. He resorts to one of two group-defeating strategies. He either pretends to know the answers because it is his job to do so, or he denies or avoids the issues, hoping that they will disappear. When the separate boss is called upon for more adaptive measures, like guidance and direction, he is absent. The role of the separate boss betrays leadership aspiration. Perhaps the separate boss is not equipped or emotionally ready yet for leading. Further investigation would need to consider questions concerning the emotional readiness of the authority and organizational norms for leadership in the connected versus separate struggle. New definitions for leadership may require members of an organization to reconcile the connected versus separate opposites. Is this struggle behind subordinate hostility or anger? If men are more hostile, is it due to a separate and adversarial view of authority? Or, is male hostility humiliation remembered forever? How would leaders use preventive or adaptive strategies for coping with hostility directed at women in authority?

In conclusion, the current research suggests that gender influences construction of authority through connected and separate images. Leadership seen in this perspective, is a

struggle to include connection, along with separate, as an integral and neglected aspect of the ways individuals understand authority.

APPENDIX

L-BLA ACHIEVING STYLES INVENTORY

Responses range from 1 (never) to 7 (always):

- ___ 1. For me, the most gratifying thing is to have solved a tough problem.
- ___ 2. I get to know important people in order to succeed.
- ___ 3. I achieve my goals through contributing to the success of others.
- ___ 4. For me, winning is the most important thing.
- ___ 5. When I want to achieve something, I look for assistance.
- ___ 6. I work hard to achieve so people will think well of me.
- ___ 7. I want to be the leader.
- ___ 8. More than anything else, I like to take on a challenging task.
- ___ 9. Faced with a task, I prefer a team approach to an individual one.
- ___ 10. I seek out leadership positions.
- ___ 11. Winning in competition is the most thrilling thing I can imagine.
- ___ 12. I feel the successes or failures of those close to me as if they were my own.
- ___ 13. I strive to achieve so that I will be well-liked.
- ___ 14. The more competitive the situation, the better I like it.
- ___ 15. Real team effort is the best way for me to get a job done.
- ___ 16. I achieve by guiding others towards their goals.

- ___ 17. For me, the most exciting thing is working on a tough problem.
- ___ 18. I seek guidance when I have a task to accomplish.
- ___ 19. I have a sense of failure when those I care about do poorly.
- ___ 20. I develop some relationships with others to get what I need to succeed.
- ___ 21. I seek positions of authority.
- ___ 22. I am not happy if I don't come out on top in a competitive situation.
- ___ 23. My way of achieving is by coaching others to their own successes.
- ___ 24. For me, group effort is the most effective means to accomplishments.
- ___ 25. I look for support from others when undertaking a new task.
- ___ 26. I establish some relationships for the benefits they bring.
- ___ 27. I try to be successful at what I do so that I will be respected.
- ___ 28. I want to take charge when working with others.
- ___ 29. When a loved one succeeds, I also have a sense of accomplishment although I make no direct contribution.
- ___ 30. I strive to achieve in order to gain recognition.
- ___ 31. I look for reassurance from others when making decisions.
- ___ 32. For me, the greatest accomplishment is when the people I love achieve their goals.
- ___ 33. I go out of my way to work on challenging tasks.

- ___ 34. I succeed by taking an active part in helping others achieve success.
- ___ 35. I use my relationships with others to get things done.
- ___ 36. Working with others brings out my best efforts.
- ___ 37. I select competitive situations because I do better when I compete.
- ___ 38. Being the person in charge is exciting to me.
- ___ 39. I work to accomplish my goals to gain the admiration of others.
- ___ 40. I establish a relationship with one person in order to get to know others.
- ___ 41. My way of achieving is by helping others to learn how to get what they want.
- ___ 42. The accomplishment of close others gives me a feeling of accomplishment as well.
- ___ 43. For me, the greatest satisfaction comes from breaking through to the solution of a new problem.
- ___ 44. When I encounter a difficult problem, I go for help.
- ___ 45. My best achievements come from working with others.

* * * A N A L Y S I S O F V A R I A N C E * * *

BY LBLA7
 C_SEX Gender of Subject
 C_GPICT Gender of Boss
 C_A_NOT Alone or Group

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F	Signif of F
Main Effects	6.854	3	2.285	.956	.422
C_SEX	.000	1	.000	.000	.997
C_GPICT	5.027	1	5.027	2.103	.154
C_A_NOT	1.164	1	1.164	.487	.489
2-way Interactions	3.469	3	1.156	.484	.695
C_SEX C_GPICT	2.346	1	2.346	.981	.327
C_SEX C_A_NOT	.006	1	.006	.003	.960
C_GPICT C_A_NOT	1.140	1	1.140	.477	.493
3-way Interactions	.101	1	.101	.042	.838
C_SEX C_GPICT C_A_NOT	.101	1	.101	.042	.838
Explained	10.424	7	1.489	.623	.734
Residual	105.188	44	2.391		
Total	115.612	51	2.267		

52 Cases were processed.

0 Cases (.0 PCT) were missing.

* * * M U L T I P L E C L A S S I F I C A T I O N A N A L Y S I S * * *

By LBLA7
 C_SEX Gender of Subject
 C_GPICT Gender of Boss
 C_A_NOT Alone or Group

Grand Mean =		5.077						Adjusted for	
				Unadjusted		Adjusted for		Independents	
Variable + Category		N		Dev'n		Dev'n		+ Covariates	
				Eta		Beta		Dev'n	
C_SEX									
1	Female	25		.01		.00			
2	Male	27		-.01		.00			
				.01				.00	
C_GPICT									
1	Female	26		.33		.31			
2	Male	26		-.33		-.31			
				.22				.21	
C_A_NOT									
1	Alone	29		-.17		-.13			
2	Group	23		.21		.17			
				.13				.10	
Multiple R Squared								.059	
Multiple R								.243	

* * * A N A L Y S I S O F V A R I A N C E * * *

LBLA8
 BY C_SEX Gender of Subject
 C_GPICT Gender of Boss
 C_A_NOT Alone or Group

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F	Signif of F
Main Effects	5.621	3	1.874	.829	.485
C_SEX	.611	1	.611	.270	.606
C_GPICT	2.993	1	2.993	1.325	.256
C_A_NOT	1.539	1	1.539	.681	.414
2-way Interactions	.790	3	.263	.117	.950
C_SEX C_GPICT	.088	1	.088	.039	.844
C_SEX C_A_NOT	.502	1	.502	.222	.640
C_GPICT C_A_NOT	.156	1	.156	.069	.794
3-way Interactions	6.081	1	6.081	2.692	.108
C_SEX C_GPICT C_A_NOT	6.081	1	6.081	2.692	.108
Explained	12.492	7	1.785	.790	.599
Residual	99.388	44	2.259		
Total	111.879	51	2.194		

52 Cases were processed.

0 Cases (.0 PCT) were missing.

* * * M U L T I P L E C L A S S I F I C A T I O N A N A L Y S I S * * *

By LBLA8
 C_SEX Gender of Subject
 C_GPICT Gender of Boss
 C_A_NOT Alone or Group

Grand Mean = 4.904

Variable + Category	N	Unadjusted		Adjusted for		Adjusted for	
		Dev'n	Eta	Dev'n	Beta	Independents + Covariates Dev'n	Beta
C_SEX							
1 Female	25	-.10		-.11			
2 Male	27	.10		.10			
			.07		.07		
C_GPICT							
1 Female	26	.26		.24			
2 Male	26	-.26		-.24			
			.18		.16		
C_A_NOT							
1 Alone	29	-.18		-.15			
2 Group	23	.23		.19			
			.14		.12		
Multiple R Squared					.050		
Multiple R					.224		

* * * A N A L Y S I S O F V A R I A N C E * * *

LBLA9
 BY C_SEX Gender of Subject
 C_GPICT Gender of Boss
 C_A_NOT Alone or Group

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F	Signif of F
Main Effects	2.243	3	.748	.320	.811
C_SEX	.347	1	.347	.148	.702
C_GPICT	1.127	1	1.127	.482	.491
C_A_NOT	.594	1	.594	.254	.617
2-way Interactions	6.454	3	2.151	.920	.439
C_SEX C_GPICT	.042	1	.042	.018	.895
C_SEX C_A_NOT	6.022	1	6.022	2.576	.116
C_GPICT C_A_NOT	.252	1	.252	.108	.744
3-way Interactions	2.317	1	2.317	.991	.325
C_SEX C_GPICT C_A_NOT	2.317	1	2.317	.991	.325
Explained	11.014	7	1.573	.673	.694
Residual	102.860	44	2.338		
Total	113.873	51	2.233		

52 Cases were processed.

0 Cases (.0 PCT) were missing.

* * * M U L T I P L E C L A S S I F I C A T I O N A N A L Y S I S * * *

By LBLA9
 C_SEX Gender of Subject
 C_GPICT Gender of Boss
 C_A_NOT Alone or Group

Grand Mean = 4.712

Variable + Category	N	Unadjusted Dev'n	Eta	Adjusted for Independents Dev'n	Beta	Adjusted for Independents + Covariates Dev'n	Beta
C_SEX							
1 Female	25	-.08		-.08			
2 Male	27	.07		.08			
			.05		.06		
C_GPICT							
1 Female	26	.16		.15			
2 Male	26	-.16		-.15			
			.11		.10		
C_A_NOT							
1 Alone	29	-.11		-.10			
2 Group	23	.14		.12			
			.08		.07		
Multiple R Squared					.020		
Multiple R					.140		

* * * A N A L Y S I S O F V A R I A N C E * * *

BY LBLAR Overall Relational Mean
 C_SEX Gender of Subject
 C_GPICT Gender of Boss
 C_A_NOT Alone or Group

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F	Signif of F
Main Effects	4.497	3	1.499	.754	.526
C_SEX	.210	1	.210	.106	.746
C_GPICT	2.816	1	2.816	1.417	.240
C_A_NOT	1.061	1	1.061	.534	.469
2-way Interactions	1.611	3	.537	.270	.847
C_SEX C_GPICT	.118	1	.118	.059	.809
C_SEX C_A_NOT	1.167	1	1.167	.587	.448
C_GPICT C_A_NOT	.429	1	.429	.216	.644
3-way Interactions	2.061	1	2.061	1.037	.314
C_SEX C_GPICT C_A_NOT	2.061	1	2.061	1.037	.314
Explained	8.168	7	1.167	.587	.763
Residual	87.436	44	1.987		
Total	95.604	51	1.875		

52 Cases were processed.

0 Cases (.0 PCT) were missing.

* * * M U L T I P L E C L A S S I F I C A T I O N A N A L Y S I S * * *

By LBLAR Overall Relational Mean
 C_SEX Gender of Subject
 C_GPICT Gender of Boss
 C_A_NOT Alone or Group

Grand Mean = 4.897

Variable + Category	N	Unadjusted Dev'n	Eta	Adjusted for Independents Dev'n	Beta	Adjusted for Independents + Covariates Dev'n	Beta
C_SEX							
1 Female	25	-.06		-.07			
2 Male	27	.05		.06			
			.04		.05		
C_GPICT							
1 Female	26	.25		.23			
2 Male	26	-.25		-.23			
			.18		.17		
C_A_NOT							
1 Alone	29	-.15		-.13			
2 Group	23	.19		.16			
			.13		.11		
Multiple R Squared					.047		
Multiple R					.217		

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